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The Contemplatives in Action: Vincenzo Querini, Gasparo Contarini, and the Shaping of Politics in Renaissance Italy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a new way of understanding the history of Italy and of Venice during the period 1494-1530. Using newly examined manuscript and printed materials as well as older secondary sources, it seeks to demonstrate the close connection between religion and politics through the biographies of the Venetian clerics Vincenzo Querini (1479-1514) and Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542). Chapter 1 provides the first comprehensive biography of Vincenzo Querini and introduces the major themes of this study - the pan-European nature of Venetian politics and religion, and the relationship between the active and the contemplative lives. The exchange of letters between Querini and Contarini during 1511-14 (considered in Chapter 2) can only be properly understood in the context of these themes, Querini's biography, and the centrality of his friendship with Contarini. Querini's role in monastic and curial reform is highlighted in the third and fourth chapters, and particular emphasis is placed upon his Florentine connections - especially with the *piagnoni*. In Chapter 5 Contarini's work on the ideal bishop (*De officio episcopi*) is placed in the light of Querini's reform thought and is also examined in order to show its affinities with Contarini's treatise on the government of Venice (*De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*). Chapter 6 establishes for the first time the pre-publication circulation of the work, and examines its audience. Chapter 7 consists of a close textual reading of themes of harmony and discord in the book - thereby establishing Contarini's debt to Thomist ecclesiology, and to Aristotelian political and moral theory. The final two chapters consider these themes in relation to Contarini's Florentine connections, and within the context of Florentine and Venetian republicanism, and of Florentine exiles in Venice.

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Abbreviations

ASV	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BCV	Biblioteca Correr, Venice
BMV	Biblioteca Marciana, Venice
PRO	Public Record Office, London
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
BL	The British Library, London
AC	J. B. Mittarelli and A. Costadoni (eds.) *Annales Camaldulenses Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols., (Venice, 1755-73)
ASI	*Archivio Storico Italiano*
Contarini	Gasparo Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, trans. L. Lewkenor (London, 1599; repr. Farnborough, 1968)
C. und C.	Hubert Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 2 (1959) 53-117
DBI	*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* 45 vols., in progress (Rome, 1960-)
Lettere	Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, (ed.) E. Travi, 4 vols., in progress (Rome, 1987-)
Opera	*Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* (Paris, 1571)
Sanudo	Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, (ed.) R. Fulin, 58 vols., (Venice, 1879-1903)
SCV	*Storia della cultura veneta*, 6 vols. in 10, various eds., (Vicenza, 1976-86)
VS	E. Martène and Dom. U. Durand (eds.) *Veterum Scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, Amplissima collectio*, 9 vols (Paris, 1724-33)
n.p.	No place of publication recorded
n.d.	No date of publication recorded

Notes

All primary sources have been translated into English and all contractions have been fully transcribed.

I follow Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley, 1993) in my preference for the form 'Querini' over that of 'Quirini'. I have used 'Querini' throughout this thesis unless quoting sources which use an alternative spelling.

All dates are modernized unless indicated as *modo veneziano*, in which case they are given according to the Venetian-style calendar, in which the New Year began on 1 March.

References to page numbers in footnote citations are given without the indication 'pp.'

References to columns ('coll.'), foliation ('ff.'), recto ('r'), verso ('v'), plates, and graphs are given.

Roman numerals indicate volume number unless otherwise indicated.

I have followed the Harvard system of footnote annotation throughout and have arranged my bibliography in the manner of Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the* Courtier. *The European Reception of Castiglione's* Cortegiano (Cambridge and Oxford, 1995).

Introduction

Writing of the revival of scholarly interest in the Venetian ecclesiastic Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) a quarter of a century ago, Professor James Bruce Ross commented that the effort to understand Contarini in an adequate Venetian context was hampered by scholarly 'lacunae', notably in the fields of Venetian government, spirituality, and humanism.[1] Many advances in these fields have been made since that time, and a considerably more nuanced picture of Venetian life can be presented by the historian. This thesis confirms the progress which has been made in political, religious, and cultural history in northern Italy, and draws upon this recent historiography in its examination of the connected areas of ecclesiastical reform and personal piety, and political theory and diplomatic action in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. Although the city of Venice is the focus for the arguments raised here, nevertheless, a conscious effort has been made to emphasize the connections between that city and Florence and Rome. It is also vital to view Venice within a pan-European context. This approach is reflected in the emphasis placed in this thesis upon the life of the hitherto neglected Venetian humanist and hermit Vincenzo Querini (1479-1514) who travelled in northern Europe and who lived at Venice, Camaldoli (in Tuscany), and Rome during his short life.

The study of Querini's life and thought can illuminate large areas of ecclesiastical history and theology in the pre-Tridentine Church in Italy in a way comparable with the biographies of his friends Contarini and Tommaso Giustiniani (1476-1528). Denys Hay noted in his *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (actually covering the period up to 1527), that it might not be possible to write a history of the Italian Church on the basis of existing evidence, although there was a need for a 'new Pastor' to write modern biographies of the popes and cardinals on which to base such a history.[2] While modern biographies of Leo X or Clement VII are lacking, and some, such as that of Julius II are curiously devoid of attention to his religious role[3], nevertheless important advances have been made in this field in the two decades since Hay's book was published. By presenting the biography of Querini and some new aspects of the biography of Contarini this study contributes to these advances.

Professor William V. Hudon (himself the author of a biography of the short-reigned Pope Marcellus II)[4] has commented: 'More works detailing the contradictions and inconsistencies

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[1] James Bruce Ross, 'The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: a bibliographical essay', *Church History* 41 (1972) 22-45: 37.
[2] Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977) 7.
[3] Christine Shaw, *Julius II: the warrior pope* (Oxford, 1993).
[4] William V. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb, Ill., 1992).

of persons in this era - especially churchmen like Contarini - will create the detailed, human and carefully nuanced landscape truly worthy of describing Tridentine Italy'.[5] Addressing the place of Italy in the early Reformation in Europe, Professor Euan Cameron has recently wondered why there was no figure comparable to Erasmus in Italy, that is to say, embodying 'humanist classicism and the call to religious sincerity and simplicity' in equal measure.[6] This question implies that a biographical study would be especially useful in throwing light on the nature of piety and reform in Italy. However, the same historian, reviewing biographies of the leaders of the Reformation, has warned of the dialogue between the personality of the author and subject which is set up in religious biography. He remarks: 'The key to the Reformation is not so much individual minds, communing with other minds across centuries, as milieux, faculties, groups of friends, [and] congregations'.[7] This study will describe the networks of friendship and thought which were important to Renaissance Venetians such as Gasparo Contarini and Vincenzo Querini. In this way it may be possible to provide an answer to Professor Cameron's question and to broaden our historical understanding of the Church in Italy in the ways which Professors Hay and Hudon have suggested.

Gasparo Contarini is perhaps one of the most familiar figures in recent scholarship of sixteenth-century church history, political theory, and Venetian history. His life and writings offer a fascinating insight into many aspects of Renaissance Italian history, and his most recent biography has attempted to sum up those different facets in its subtitle: 'Venice, Rome, and reform'.[8] Living as he did in an age of religious controversy, it is perhaps inevitable that judgements upon him have been coloured by confessional or political bias. His most recent biographer has been criticized for her apparent equivocation on the matter of Contarini's and the Church's doctrinal fluidity in the pre-Tridentine era.[9] Professor Gleason certainly distinguishes between Contarini's personal conviction of justification by faith and the Church's growing rejection of that doctrine, although her timetable for the emergence of a Tridentine Church is rather vaguely assigned to the late 1530's and early 1540's in a way which allows her to describe a Church which could both accommodate *and* reject Contarini's views.

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[5] *Idem*, review of Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini, Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1993) in *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995) 624.
[6] Euan Cameron, 'Italy', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.) *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge, 1992) ch. 9: 194.
[7] Euan Cameron, 'Heroic Ideas and Hero-Worship', review article, *The Historical Journal* 40/1 (1997) 217-26: 226.
[8] Gleason (1993).
[9] Hudon (1995) 623-4. He cites Gleason (1993) 225, 195, 269 as evidence of Gleason's apparent inconsistency.

The problem of Contarini's place in the landscape of the Church has often been predicated on differing interpretations of the pre-Tridentine Church. His contemporaries were divided in their opinion of him, and a Roman pasquinade of 1541, commenting on his appointment as papal legate to the Regensburg colloquy, noted: 'Contarini prepares his arguments for the Germans, and demonstrates his desire to defend our faith'.[10] However, another pasquinade, written after the failure of the colloquy, accused Contarini, among other cardinals, of hypocrisy and impiety.[11] In the last three decades he has been characterized by Anglo-Saxon scholars with different views on the nature of the pre-Tridentine Church, as a 'moderate'[12]; a 'conservative'[13]; and as a 'liberal'.[14] Moreover, Professor Gleason has also been accused by one reviewer of recreating the 'heroic' image of Cardinal Contarini, the religious conciliator and the last hope of pre-Tridentine Catholicism[15], while another reviewer, Professor Brian Pullan, has recognized the difficulties inherent in any biography of Contarini.[16] However, Contarini was not 'a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma', although the flood of literature discussing the nature of the pre-Tridentine Catholic Church and the so-called 'spirituali' and 'intransigenti' gives the impression that these matters constitute something of the kind for modern historians.[17]

This thesis proposes to examine Contarini's life and writings in relation to Vincenzo Querini in order to understand some aspects of the pre-Tridentine Church in northern Italy. There are several good reasons for doing this, although Gasparo Contarini's life has recently been very carefully and thoughtfully discussed by Professor Elisabeth Gleason.

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[10] 'El Contarin s' asetta/ con gli argomenti pei todeschi, e mostra voler diffender pur la fede nostra'. V. Marucci, A. Marzo, and A. Romano (eds.) *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, 2 vols., (Rome, 1983) I, 441, no. 427, lines 42-4.

[11] 'Tre ippocriti, empi nel culto divino,/ a biasmo di san Pietro e della fede,/ Veruli, Santa Croce e il Contarino'. *Ibid.* II, 638, no. 565, lines 16-8. The other cardinals mentioned were, respectively, Ennio Filonardi and Marcello Cervini. See also the pasquinade on the colloquy itself: *ibid.* II, no. 563.

[12] Richard Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: expansion and conflict* (London, 1993) 337 n.8.

[13] Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: an anatomy of apostasy* (Oxford, 1967) 11.

[14] G. R. Elton, *Reformation Europe, 1517-1559* (London, 1963) 169.

[15] Hudon (1995) 623.

[16] Professor Brian Pullan's review of Gleason (1993) is in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995) 525-7. He writes: 'There is a danger of portraying him as either hypocritical or intellectually confused, of presenting him as hopelessly naive and idealistic. Worse still, he may be seen as the innocent victim of manipulation by unscrupulous curialists bent on sabotaging the emperor's well-meant attempts at reconciliation between divergent faiths in Germany [at the Regensburg Colloquy of 1541]'. He judges Professor Gleason 'no hagiographer', and concludes that: 'As she depicts him, the cardinal was decent but not dull'. *Ibid.*, 526, 527.

[17] This subject and its literature are cogently presented by Anne Jacobson Schutte, 'Periodization of Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious History: the Post-Cantimori paradigm shift', review article in the *Journal of Modern History* 61 (June 1989) 269-84. More recently, some of the major works on the action of the Inquisition in Italy, Spain, and the New World have been considered by Adriano Prosperi in a review in *ibid.*, 66 (March 1994) 174-8. Hudon (1992) ch. 1 questions the distinctions drawn between the 'spirituali' cardinals such as Contarini and Reginald Pole, and the 'intransigenti' like Gian Pietro Carafa (later Paul IV). He argues strongly that these categories should be replaced with a historically unified period of reform stretching from the late medieval period to the Tridentine era during which there was a desire for Church reform and the return to the ideal of the apostolic Church common to all.

She has sought to understand the 'thought of a good and devout man', having found unsatisfactory previous interpretations of him which are very sympathetic but affected by confessional bias. In presenting a 'fresh interpretation' of the man, she admits that she may not have found the one 'key' to his mind.[18] In deference to the attention which the first fifty years of Contarini's life have received, she only spends about one fifth of the book discussing these years, with an additional chapter-length study of his thought and writing during the period 1517-35. Hers is above all a biography of *Cardinal* Gasparo Contarini, and she presents a careful exposition of his involvement in the religious affairs of the last two decades of his life.

Professor Gleason's emphasis on the years 1535-42 leads to her concern to demonstrate that there was an essential continuity in Contarini's philosophical beliefs throughout his life. In her examination of his letters and 'crisis' during the years 1511-15 she barely considers his friendship with Vincenzo Querini and in fact she describes Contarini and his friends as a 'loosely structured group' with Giustiniani at its head. In identifying the 'central thrust' of the letters she suggests that they are 'unsystematic' and 'emotional'. Her analysis of Contarini, Querini, and Giustiniani, particularly during 1511, therefore focuses to a great extent on their psychological states.[19] Her analysis of Contarini's philosophical, religious, and political writings is also made in the light of Contarini's psychology as well as his education. She suggests that Contarini's 'conservative bent and balanced personality' explained his unoriginal philosophical ideas, and that the *De officio episcopi* (1517) was a 'portrait reflecting Contarini's own wishes and preferences'. While this is quite reasonable, Professor Gleason is not entirely consistent in her psychological portrait and remarks of his service to the state during the 1530's that he was not 'a programmatic conservative'.[20] This attempt to understand the individual psychology of Contarini in relation to his theology has been criticized by Professor Hudon, and partially confirms the dangers of biographical writing of the sort described by Professor Cameron.

Contarini's life should be examined with greater attention paid to Vincenzo Querini and to the relationship between the two men. Hubert Jedin, who revived scholarly interest in Contarini in the 1950's with the discovery of his letters written during 1509-23, was also interested in Querini and intended to write his biography.[21] Both his life and that of Contarini have been overshadowed in recent historical research by the attention given to

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[18] Gleason (1993) p. x.
[19] *Ibid.*, 10, 19-20, 13, 15-6.
[20] *Ibid.*, 82, 93-8, 72.
[21] Contarini's letters were edited and published by Hubert Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli' , *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 2 (1959) 59-118. His comment on Querini is at *ibid.* 57, n.2. See also his 'Gasparo Contarini e il contributo veneziano alla riforma cattolica', in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1958) 105-24; *idem*, 'Contarini, Gasparo' in Mgr. Alfred Baudrillart (ed.) *Dictionnaire d' histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1956) XIII, coll. 771-784.

their friend Tommaso Giustiniani. Giustiniani has usually been viewed as the 'head' of the group of patricians including Querini and Contarini whose spirituality and rejection of secular life and humanist concerns caused them to withdraw to the Camaldolese hermitage at Camaldoli, near Arezzo.[22] Giustiniani and Querini, who had wished to enter a monastic order for several years, entered the hermitage in 1510 and 1511 respectively. They hoped to remain there for the rest of their lives, possibly in the company of their friends. However, Contarini and all of the other friends except Sebastiano Zorzi, refused to join them. The crisis caused by the Venetians' decision to withdraw from secular life has been viewed as a 'crisis of a generation' in Venice and primarily as a reaction to the defeat of Venetian forces at Agnadello in 1509, and the subsequent loss of the *terraferma.*[23] Contarini's decision to remain in Venice and to serve the Venetian state has been interpreted as the resolution of that crisis which he faced in a very personal way in the form of his struggle to merit justification by faith and works.[24]

However, as Professor Ross remarked, Contarini's crisis and his letters should be 'studied in conjunction with those [letters] of his comrades...', and more generally she has argued that Venetian spirituality should be viewed in an Italian and European context.[25] Querini's life certainly had both Italian and European dimensions. He studied at Padua and was connected with the classical humanist scholars there and at Venice who were also involved with the Aldine publishing house. He received a doctorate at Rome and quickly became famous for his knowledge of peripatetic philosophy and for his poetic interests. These

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[22] eg. Eugenio Massa, *L' eremo, la Bibbia e il Medioevo in umanisti veneti del primo Cinquecento* (Naples, 1992). Paradoxically, a large amount of attention is paid to Querini by Giustiniani's biographer Jean Leclerq in his *Un humaniste ermite: le bienheureux Paul Giustiniani (1476-1528)* (Paris, 1951). However, he does not draw on much new material in his study of Querini.

[23] eg. Innocenzo Cervelli, 'Storiografia e problemi intorno alla vita religiosa e spirituale a Venezia nella prima metà del '500', *Studi Veneziani* VIII (1966) 447-76. More recently this view has been taken by Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità* (Florence, 1988).

[24] Most studies have concentrated upon the spiritual 'crisis' of Gasparo Contarini during 1509-14, taking their lead from Hubert Jedin, 'Ein "Tumerlebnis" des jungen Contarini', *Historisches Jahrbuch* LXX (1951) 115-30; *idem* (1958). A clearer understanding of the spirituality of Contarini and Querini will depend upon the publication of the manuscripts at the Camaldolese monastery of the Sacro Eremo Tuscolano near Frascati currently being edited by Eugenio Massa (who did not grant me access to them) under the general title *Trattati, lettere e frammenti* (Rome, 1967-74) vol.1 *I manoscritti originali del Beato Paolo Giustiniani custoditi nell'Eremo di Frascati*, vol.2 *I primi trattati dell'amore di Dio*. See also *idem*, 'Paolo Giustiniani e Gasparo Contarini: la vocazione al bivio del neo-platonismo e della teologia biblica', *Benedictina* 35 (1988) 205-233; *idem* (1992); Felix Gilbert, 'Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini', in T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (eds.) *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe.* (Princeton, 1969) 90-116; James Bruce Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and his Friends', *Studies in the Renaissance* 17 (1970) 192-232; Gleason (1993) 9-29. Nelson H. Minnich and Elisabeth G. Gleason, 'Vocational Choices: An Unknown Letter of Pietro Querini to Gasparo Contarini and Niccolò Tiepolo (April, 1512)', *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989) 1-20. Contarini's nineteenth-century biographer devotes only one paragraph to Contarini's occupations during the period 1530-35: Franz Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini, 1483-1542: eine Monographie* (Braunsberg, 1885) 317. He briefly mentions Querini *ibid.* 205-08, and discusses Contarini's friendships and writings until 1535 in *ibid.* chs. 4 and 5.

[25] Ross (1972) 33, 38-45.

interests were shared by many of his friends, most notably by Pietro Bembo, who probably met Querini at Padua during the 1490's. Both Giustiniani and Bembo were important figures in Querini's life, and all three men shared a pronounced inclination towards spirituality and withdrawal from public life during the first decade of the sixteenth century. Giustiniani and Querini took vows of chastity in 1500. Querini's monastic bent was expressed during his diplomatic missions in 1505-06 and 1507 by his interest in the state of monasteries and Christian faith and 'paganism' in the countries he visited. Giustiniani went to the Holy Land in 1507 and attempted to join a monastery at Bethlehem. Bembo was less successful in either his secular or ecclesiastical career in Venice before 1506 when he left that city for Urbino and the protection of the court there.

After 1507, Querini was not elected to any further diplomatic missions and his association with the Camaldolese Order and its monastery on the island of Murano near Venice grew closer. In 1510, he and Giustiniani decided to enter the rich and venerable monastery of Camaldoli and take vows. Their monastic life was far from peaceful and their reforms of the Order provoked much resistance. However, their reform proposals to the Fifth Lateran Council and Querini's diplomatic activity in Rome and proposed promotion to the cardinalate in 1514 are important elements of pre-Tridentine Church history. Querini's contact with Florentine and Roman as well as Venetian circles, and his European experience add a new dimension to his life, the interpretation of Contarini's life, and to the understanding of Renaissance Christian humanism.

The first five chapters of this thesis provide the fullest biographical treatment of Querini to date. By refocusing on the life of Querini and his friendship with Contarini the central themes of both lives and works can be brought out more clearly. It will be made clear that the debate about the relative merits of the active and contemplative lives was central to the thought and friendship of these men. This debate, which drew more explicitly on the works of St Jerome, St Augustine, St Gregory, or Petrarch than on Cicero or contemporary writers, was closely related to the struggle each man endured in order to merit God's love and to be permitted the possibility of salvation. One of the principal proposals of this thesis is that Querini was less rigid than Giustiniani in his belief that monasticism was a way of life which was superior to the secular. He could imagine more readily than Giustiniani that the contemplative life was compatible with the active life for some people.[26] In many ways their letters reveal two men who were very much alike in their sense of weakness before God, their belief in the full redemptive powers of Christ's sacrifice, and their sense that salvation could be achieved by faith, the gift of grace, and works both in the city and the hermitage.

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[26] Ross (1970) misses this point.

In addition, placing the study of their lives in one frame brings to the fore the importance of the Florentine-Venetian religious and political dimension. This context has hardly been touched upon in other studies[27], and this thesis seeks to show the multiplicity of links between Querini, Contarini and the *piagnoni* of Florence. The 'party' of the *piagnoni* and the political implications of supporting Savonarola in Florence after 1498 must be distinguished from the nature of *piagnone* piety which venerated the image and teachings of Savonarola, but which had a good deal in common with the interest in scriptural studies and apostolic purity characteristic of Renaissance piety. Querini's friendship with *piagnoni* arose from his association with the Camaldolese monastery in Florence where there were many supporters of Savonarola. The reforms which the hermits proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1513 share many of the spiritual and eschatolgical hallmarks of *piagnoni* reforms proposed there and elsewhere.

Querini and Contarini were very interested in that piety and its eschatological framework for Church renewal and even in its quasi-mystical elements. Querini struggled to understand the mysticism of the Hebrew Psalms and Song of Songs, and he also acted as a patron to the prophet Francesco da Meleto whose learning, though not his doctrine, he may have admired. Contarini approved of Savonarola's prophetic interpretations of scripture, although he felt himself unable to make such an interpretation himself.[28] It is notable how a common interest in prophecy in Florence, Venice, and Rome was confirmed and defined in the expectant atmosphere of 1500-30 when Italy was the site for French and imperial conflict as well as Church reform. It is possible to take advantage of the many advances in the study of prophecy in Renaissance Italy in recent years and to place the two men and their friends in the context of prophetic fervour and expectation. It is no longer viable to consider prophecy only as a narrow or marginal part of Italian culture and belief. As one major study has noted: 'prophecy seems to have constituted a unifying sign connecting nature to religion and religion to politics and coordinating all the scattered shreds of a culture that in the end turned out to be an integral way of knowing [:] embracing observation of nature, political analysis, and religious reflection'.[29] In this thesis it will be

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[27] eg. Fragnito (1988); Gleason (1993). These matters are treated in Massa (1992) in a very unsystematic and fragmentary way. His interests are above all with Giustiniani and his scriptural exegesis.

[28] Felix Gilbert, 'Contarini on Savonarola: an unknown document of 1516', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 59 (1968) 145-50.

[29] Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, N.J., 1990) p. xvi. I have also greatly benefited from the works of Dr Marjorie Reeves, and from the activities and publications of the *Centro Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti*, San Giovanni in Fiore, Cosenza, Italy. I would like to thank Dr Gary Dickson for drawing my attention to the *Centro*, its conference which I attended in San Giovanni in Fiore in September 1994, and its publications, including the journal *Florensia*.

shown how prophecy was connected with Contarini's and Querini's views of nature, the Church, and politics.

The study of Querini and Contarini's religious beliefs places Venetian piety firmly within the context of European piety in a way which has recently been superbly demonstrated by a study of humanist circles in Vicenza.[30] The significance of the European religious context for the two Venetians cannot be better demonstrated than by recalling the image of Querini and Giustiniani travelling west and east from Venice to examine the state of monasteries in Spain, Burgundy, England, Germany, or in the Holy Land. The dry diplomatic dispatch or *relazione* can yield information on Querini's most private religious enterprises and thoughts. Both he and Contarini were ambassadors in the service of Venice who found time during the most critical years of Venetian diplomacy in the sixteenth century to consider the religion and piety of both the Europeans and the 'pagans' or newly-converted people of the New Worlds to the west and east. Their observations were applied directly in their works both of religious reform and political theory.

Querini's and Giustiniani's reform of the Camaldolese Order and their proposals for the reform of Christendom which were presented to Leo X in 1513 embody different aspects of their ideas of spiritual and ecclesiastical renewal. The reforms of the Camaldolese which they enacted aimed to bring unruly monks and lax monastic houses into better order under one head with extensive powers of intervention who would himself be subject to election and correction. These reforms were consonant with the proposals of 1513 contained in the *The Libellus ad Leonem X.* By this extensive work the hermits sought to show how it might be possible to reform ecclesiastical institutions from the papacy downwards. The goal of a Christianized world under papal leadership was underpinned by a re-affirmation of the pope's apostolic authority and given extra force by the discovery of new 'pagan' lands in the east and the west. The goal of an apostolic Church was at least implied by the return to scripture and its study by careful humanist methods and translations into the vernacular. In this way scripture would be applied by preachers and clerics to the daily conduct of new and old Christians.

Professor Hudon has questioned notions of pre-Tridentine reform which divide clerics up into 'spirituali or 'intransigenti'. He has suggested that in fact there were more similarities between men such as Contarini and Gian Pietro Carafa (later Paul IV) than has hitherto been supposed. He suggests that the ideal of the apostolic church and the reform of ecclesiastical institutions were the consistent goals of Catholic reformers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is possible to confirm this thesis to the extent that Querini's ideas

[30] Achille Olivieri, *Riforma ed eresia a Vicenza nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 1992).

of reform exhibit the reforming and humanist characteristics of 'spirituali' such as Contarini, as well as support for the vigorous use of coercive powers such as the Inquisition which has traditionally been assigned to the 'intransigenti'.[31] He strongly expressed his support for the actions of the Spanish Inquisition against the 'marranos' which he had observed during his mission to Spain in 1506. Moreover, in their *Libellus* Querini and Giustiniani proposed the expulsion of Jews from all Christian lands in the manner of Spain or Portugal in the fifteenth century. Their proposals for the containment of Jews in one area foreshadow the establishment of ghettos at Venice in 1516, and Rome by Paul IV. It is interesting to note that their condemnation of the Jews for encouraging conjuring and other superstitious practices among Christians was reflected by the Venetian Inquisition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One wonders how much, if anything, Querini borrowed from an inquisitor's handbook such as that composed in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, or from the rulings of the Council of Toledo (633) which were cited in Venice in the 1570's.[32] The thought of Querini and Giustiniani in relation to these matters places them much closer to Carafa, who was one of Contarini's close friends and who also reinvigorated the Roman Inquisition, than might have been previously thought.

This study also intends to demonstrate the interconnection, even indivisibilty, of the religious and the political spheres. The lives of Querini and Contarini demonstrate how the debate over the active and contemplative lives was important during this period, and how, in practical terms, diplomatic duties could allow one to further one's sense of the civil life and its place in the divine hierarchy. Contarini's *De officio episcopi* (1517) reveals how he sought to reconcile the active and contemplative lives before 1520 and can be examined for evidence of the influence of the debate on this matter which he conducted with Querini. Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (1523-34) was written while he was ambassador in Spain and in some measure developed the assertions which he made in *De officio episcopi*. However, this work also forms a link to the other themes of this study by what it reveals about Contarini's views of civil life and institutional reform. The 'contemplative in action' is a description of Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, which can be equally applied to Querini, and to Contarini who was one of the earliest supporters of Loyola when he came to Rome from Venice in 1537.[33]

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[31] Hudon (1992) ch. 1.

[32] On this see Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Oxford, 1983) 11, 19-20.

[33] The description of Loyola is quoted without attribution by John C. Olin, *Catholic Reform from Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495-1563: an essay with illustrative documents and a brief study of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (New York, 1990) 25. Loyola arrived in Venice late in 1535 and guided Contarini's cousin through the Spiritual Exercises. Contarini was also guided through them in 1537. Two years later he took charge of their articles of purpose and organization which were presented to Pope Paul III. See James Brodrick, S. J., *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London, 1940) 49, 62, 76-7.

The *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* has received a good deal of attention since it was posthumously published in 1543. However, most writers have been content to relate the contents of the work, and in its essentials the view of the work has not changed since the sixteenth century. In the last few decades, it has been above all viewed as an expression of the 'myth' of Venice, a response to the Venetian defeat at Agnadello in 1509.[34] While that defeat was indeed a great shock, and Venetian unease and sense of insecurity may have been mounting from 1500, there is no doubt that there are many more sides to the work than this. As well as expressing Contarini's belief in the importance of both action and contemplation, an examination of its sources shows how Contarini could depart from the 'mythic' line of stability based on Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas in order to present an idiosyncratic view of nature and man which could reconcile stability with the possibility of decline.

As a Venetian diplomat Contarini was well aware of the nature of government elsewhere in Europe, and of the potential threat of Charles V to Venetian and Italian liberty. He viewed the empire as a poorly constructed body, and contemporary states as prone to tyranny and civil unrest, and he therefore sought to demonstrate the harmony of Venice in contrast to these states. This aim becomes apparent when the *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* is placed in the context of European and especially Florentine arguments about politics. Contarini is a fascinating man to study because of the way he applied his reconciliation of the active and contemplative lives to the defence of republican liberty.[35] Venice and Florence were principally associated with this defence during the 1520's, and the contact between the two suggests the importance of Florence and Florentines to Contarini and other Venetians.

Venice and Florence have often been compared from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century until the present. For Renaissance writers and intellectuals, more often than not tied by patronage and employment to a particular city or regime, the comparison generally included, or implied, the superiority of one city over another. In recent historiography Florence and Venice have been placed in the same historical focus in a less partisan way. This approach involves looking beyond the myths which have grown up around the cities to suggest ways in which their political and intellectual cultures may be more profitably and

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[34] This is the thesis of, above all, Lester J. Libby Jr, 'Venetian History and Political Thought After 1509', *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973) 7-45. But Gilbert (1969) 113-4 also put forward this view. Fragnito (1988) 98-9 argues that the War of the League of Cambrai at least increased pessimism among Venetian patricians.

[35] William J.Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance values in the age of Counter-Reformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) 93.

historically compared.[36] The identification of Florentine instability with Medicean tyranny, and Venetian stability with a mixed constitution (as well as the anti-myth of repressive oligarchical control in Venice) which inspired early modern European and North American writers has been challenged in recent years.[37]

Florentine republicanism contributed to Venetian republican values as both a 'mythic' or paradigmatic presence, and as a real factor in Venetian history during the period 1494-1540. Venetian views of Florence were part of a political debate in Venice during the 1520's and 1530's and were elaborated in the specific political and diplomatic context in Italy during the period when the two republics were closely associated as allies under the Treaty of Cognac, and as havens of 'liberty' when Charles V and Clement VII seemed intent on establishing an imperial and papal hegemony over the peninsula. Contarini and his friends expressed their fears for the liberty of Florence, particularly during the siege of the last Florentine republic during 1527-30. At Padua and Venice, Venetians and exiled Florentine republicans met and developed theories of republican rule which combined elements of both Florentine and Venetian experience and ideals.

According to Professors Margaret King and William J. Bouwsma, fifteenth-century Venetian humanism and political writing owed little to the ideas of Florentine civic humanism in the sense described by Hans Baron and others.[38] According to these historians Venetian humanism produced no outstanding writers on political theory and the constitution, and was constrained by the conventions of patrician Aristotelianism which aimed to explain and preserve the predominance of the aristocracy in the *status quo* of the lagoon republic. Venice had, according to a medieval tradition, remained unaffected by political events for one thousand years. While Rome had declined and fallen Venice, by a combination of providential foundation, well-mixed governing institutions, impartial law, and the wisdom of the patriciate, had maintained its stability and increased in prosperity. Thus, Jacob Burckhardt's view of the secretive and apparently stagnant republic of Venice

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[36] A. Baiocchi, 'Considerazioni sul rapporto tra cultura e politica a Venezia tra Quattro- e Cinquecento', in C. Smith (ed.) *Florence and Venice, Comparisons and Relations*. 2 vols., (Florence, 1979-80) II, 55-71.

[37] On the myth of Venice the literature is vast, but of particular interest in this instance are Felix Gilbert, 'The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought' in Nicolai Rubinstein, (ed.) *Florentine Studies: politics and society in Renaissance Florence* (Evanston Ill., 1968); Renzo Pecchioli, 'Il "mito" di Venezia e la crisi fiorentina intorno al 1500', *Studi Storici*, 3 (1962) 451-92; Baiocchi (1979). On the use of the myth in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and North America see J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975).

[38] Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton N.J., 1986); Bouwsma (1969) 53, 160; Hans Baron, *In search of Florentine Civic Humanism* (Princeton, 1965); *idem, Humanistic and Political literature in Florence and Venice at the beginning of the Quattrocento* (New York, 1968); Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists* (Princeton, 1963); Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1977); *idem*, 'Humanism, Politics, and the Social Order in Early Renaissance Florence' in Smith (1979) I, 3-11.

as opposed to the politically dynamic yet unstable Florentine republic - 'the city of incessant movement' - was apparently true in the political sense and was reflected in the relatively poor quality of historical writing produced.[39]

Venice absorbed new ideas but remained essentially unchanged in order to present itself as unchanging. However, the exchange of philosophical ideas between Padua and Venice and Tuscany in the *Quattrocento*, and the links between Marsilio Ficino and Venetian humanists such as Ermolao Barbaro which Paul Oskar Kristeller has explored demonstrate that a cultural exchange did take place.[40] The intermittent presence of Florentine humanists like Francesco Filelfo and others was of considerable importance to Venetian patricians. Other contacts arose from the extensive diplomatic exchanges between the two cities. Bernardo Bembo formed a close alliance with the political and literary élite of Florence which culminated in his welcoming Piero de' Medici and his sons into exile in Venice in 1494 just as Cosimo de' Medici had been welcomed in 1433. Similarly, Flavio Biondo found refuge and employment in exile from Milan in Venetian territory through his links with the Venetian humanist Francesco Barbaro.

The sixteenth century witnessed the continuity, as well as a transformation, of this type of Venetian humanism. Contarini's decision to accept the restraints of Venetian patrician life accorded with the traditional Stoic patrician view of civic participation, and the close identification of piety with civic ritual and ecclesiastical structures with Venetian institutions characteristic of the city-state.[41] It was also in accordance with neo-Platonist ideas of Man's intellectual role. Thus, while Tommaso Giustiniani may have attacked Cicero and others for their secular preoccupations, Contarini developed a *via media* between action and contemplation. This decision, as well as his later writing, has been viewed as part of the 'patriotic humanism' which arose in Venice after 1509.[42] Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* has been viewed as the supreme, and most influential, expression of that sentiment which derived from, and contributed to, the myth of Venice.

Felix Gilbert has noted how sympathetic Florentine attitudes towards Venice developed in the fifteenth century.[43] Venetian attitudes towards Florence have received rather less

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[39] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: an essay*, (trans.) S. G. C. Middlemore (1860: London, 1951) 40, and 39ff.
[40] Eugenio Garin, 'Cultura filosofica toscana e veneta nel Quattrocento' in Vittore Branca (ed.) *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (Venice, 1963); P. O. Kristeller, 'Marsilio Ficino e Venezia' in *Miscellanea di Studi in onore di Vittore Branca. Biblioteca dell'Archivium Romanicum.* Ser.I, vols.178-81. Part III/2, 475-92.
[41] Oliver Logan, 'The Ideal Bishop and the Venetian Patriciate: c.1430-1630', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29 (1978) 415-50; Paolo Prodi, 'The Structure and Organization of the Church in Renaissance Venice: Suggestions for Research', in John Hale (ed.) *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973) 409-30.
[42] This phrase is taken from Libby (1973).
[43] Gilbert (1968b).

attention. In 1487 the Venetian historian Marc'Antonio Sabellico described how the Florentines had appealed to Venice for help to repel the threat of the Sforza dukes of Milan at the beginning of the century. He described how the Venetians recognized that the loss of Florence would result in the loss of Venice, and that both republics had a duty to preserve 'liberty'.[44] The conventional fifteenth-century patrician view of Florence and the themes of liberty and exile acquired a new vitality after Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494. As Anne Denis has shown, Venice claimed a special role in the preservation of Italian liberty after 1494.[45] Sergio Bertelli has observed how Florentines and Venetians articulated a common interest as republics to preserve the peace of Italy around the turn of the century.[46] The patriotic civic humanism of the post-1517 period was suffused with an understandable anti-imperialism and an awareness of Venice's new role vis-à-vis Florence. In Florence this new relationship was expressed by a dissatisfaction with Medicean rule, and a concomitant admiration for Venetian institutions. For the Venetians' part there was a greater interest in Florence which was either expressed directly, as a concern for the liberty of Italy, or by pointing to the contrasts between Florentine and Venetian government and society which collectively formed a contrast of harmony versus faction and instability.

Professor Thomas Mayer has tentatively identified three types of 'civic humanism' emerging in the Veneto during the 1520's. He describes a 'robustly republican Paduan' strain, a Venetian oligarchical type, and a Florentine-Venetian hybrid which he relates to the works, respectively, of Giovanni Battista Egnazio and Trifone Gabriele, Gasparo Contarini, and Donato Giannotti.[47] In addition, some writers (such as the Venetian Francesco Zorzi) also retreated into a Ficinian position which asserted Venetian harmony on a universal level, or a cabbalistic harmony in which Venice had a special place (according to the French writer Guillaume Postel). Focusing on the Venetian-Florentine relationship on these terms it will be necessary to consider whether the Venetians made common cause with Florence as a republic against principalities; how 'anti-Caesarism' contributed to her humanism in the sixteenth century; and how close together the republican ideologies moved in the works of Contarini and his friends Pietro Bembo, Egnazio, and Gabriele.

The military defeat of 1509-11 was mitigated in Contarini's *De magistratibus* by a renewed emphasis upon military values and internal peace and concord. Corporal and musical metaphors were used by Contarini (as well as by earlier writers such as Sabellico) to

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[44] M. Sabellico, *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe Condita...* (Andrea Torresano da Asola: Venice, 1487) sigs. [uiiiiii]r - xiiiiv.
[45] Anne Denis, *Charles VIII et les Italiens: histoire et mythe* (Geneva, 1979).
[46] Sergio Bertelli, 'La politica estera fiorentina e quella veneziana nella crisi rinascimentale' in Smith (1979-80) 119-47, especially 123-4.
[47] Thomas F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal: humanist politics and religion in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989) ch.2.

suggest the harmony in the body politic. Contarini's Platonic view of the mixed constitution was placed in the wider context of a Thomist divine hierarchy. The harmony of Venetian institutions and people accorded with a divine structure which implied a potential for eternal stability as well as an explanation for historical survival. This assertion of stability was ancillary to his belief about the relative merits of man's active and contemplative lives. He contrasted the stable, aristocratic gerontocracy with the ancient and modern republics which declined into tyranny as a result of faction and youthful intemperance, and thereby agreed with Venetian views of Florence.

The importance of the Florentine republic of 1527-30 to Venetian patricians is revealed in the dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors to Florence. They displayed varying degrees of admiration for the Florentines which ranged from the unbounded (Carlo Cappello and Vincenzo Fedeli), to the grudging or the tactical (Antonio Surian and Marco Foscari). In many ways, Contarini's experience as ambassador at Charles V's court, as well as his direct Florentine contacts, coloured his attitude towards Florence. Besides the difficulties he faced justifying Venice's pro-French policy, he was unfavourably impressed by the Italian ambitions of the 'imperialists' at court. After 1527 the imperialist designs of Charles achieved their most triumphant expression and it is against this background of the failure of the Florentine republic in 1530 in the face of imperial pressure that Venice's stance must be viewed. By examining the views of Venetian and Florentine diplomats at this crucial period a further level in the exchange of political ideas can be revealed and the way in which Venetian views of Florence were affected by imperialist, republican, and papal prejudices examined.

In order to understand these themes and historical conditions it is necessary to consider the impact of Florentines in Venice. Since the French ambassador Phillipe de Commynes asserted that: 'most of their people are foreigners'[48] it has been a commonplace to note that Venice was an important place of refuge. Exile formed an important theme in Venetian historiography and Florentine exiles loomed large in the history of the city, although their presence has been little explored. A cursory look at the fifteenth century exiles and sixteenth-century attitudes towards them is necessary as a prelude to exploring the role of Florentines in exile in Venice after 1527.

Several distinct groups may be discerned after this date, suggesting that Paduan humanists and their links with Florentine humanists provided an important structural line of support,

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[48] Philippe de Commynes made this comment as French envoy to Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century. See *idem, The Memoirs* (ed.) S. Kinser. 2 vols., (New York, 1969-73) II, 493. On exile generally see Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: the theme of exile in medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1982).

and that the Florentine confraternity in Venice provided a basis of financial, social, and possibly political support for exiles at various times. After 1530, Venice was a focus for anti-Medici activities (although a more moderate republicanism continued as well) with the Florentine Strozzi, so numerous in the Veneto, playing an important role overseeing the *fuorusciti* there. It is worth considering how far Florentine republicanism at this point, in its many forms, was elaborated or changed in exile in a Venetian setting and particularly in Donato Giannotti's *Libro de la republica de' Vinitiani* (composed 1526-33; published 1540) and how far Angelo Ventura's and Professor Mayer's assertion that it coincided with a Venetian anti-oligarchic strain is true, particularly in the setting of the circles around Contarini, Reginald Pole, and others with extensive Florentine links and concerns.[49]

Chapter 1 provides the first comprehensive biography of Vincenzo Querini and introduces the major themes of this study - the pan-European nature of Venetian politics and religion, and the relationship between the active and contemplative lives. The exchange of letters between Querini and Contarini during 1511-14 and their spiritual debate can only properly be understood in the second chapter in the context of these themes, Querini's life, and the centrality of his friendship with Contarini. Querini's role in the monastic and Church reform is further emphasized in the third and fourth chapters, again in the belief that his role and the importance of his Florentine connections have been unduly neglected by historians. The fifth chapter will return to the examination of Contarini's writings in the light of Querini's proposals for Church reform. Contarini's *De officio* establishes many of the central themes of his treatise on the Venetian magistracies. It will be placed in this context as well as in the context of Contarini's diplomatic activity in Chapter 6. This chapter will also establish the pre-publication circulation of the manuscript, and seek to deepen the historical understanding of the work by means of a paratextual approach. Chapter 7 consists of a close textual reading which for the first time correctly identifies its debt to Thomist ecclesiology and Aristotelian political and moral theory. The final two chapters pick up the themes of discord and harmony, and peace and war, which are considered in Chapter 7. Venetian political views will be placed in the context of Venetian views of Florence, and the extensive contacts between Florentines and Venetians.

This thesis offers a new way of understanding the history of Venice during a crucial period for the city, Italy, and Europe. Above all, it demonstrates the close connection between religion and politics. Some of its conclusions may have been forshadowed by earlier research in widely varying fields. Some older sources are returned to in collaboration with new evidence - such as diplomatic dispatches, and poetry - and new approaches. Contarini's and Querini's letters are examined with greater emphasis placed on Querini's

[49] Angelo Ventura, *s.v.* 'Cappello, Carlo' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 45 vols, in progress (Rome, 1960-) 769.

life and thought. Pietro Bembo's letters are also used to establish the nature of Querini's friendship with the poet. By synthesizing these with previous research into a single work, this thesis intends to draw new conclusions and answer new questions about Venice, and explore the nature of its political life during the Italian wars, and its cultural life in the age of Gasparo Contarini and Vincenzo Querini.

Chapter 1

Action and Conviction in the Life and Thought of Vincenzo Querini

The Venetian patrician Vincenzo Querini (1479-1514), who was one of Gasparo Contarini's closest friends, has largely escaped serious historiographical attention. He deserves to be remembered by historians more frequently because he participated in the highest political, cultural, and religious circles in Italy, and he served the Venetian state on important missions to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and the Emperor Maximilian. The relative lack of attention paid to him by historians must partly be due to the paucity of completed material he has left on his own account. The manuscripts and single publication which he did leave at his death have either been ignored by historians who have considered them irrelevant to his religious role, or have been relegated to a supporting role in the study of the lives of Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) and Tommaso Giustiniani (1476-1528). In this chapter, Querini's writing will be thoroughly studied for the first time and integrated with the most complete biography which has been written to date.

In this and subsequent chapters, it will become apparent from newly examined contemporary sources that Querini's religious views are worthy of consideration in their own right, particularly as they reveal the different stages of Querini's decision to withdraw from the active life in the service of the Venetian state and to enter the hermitage at Camaldoli, near Florence. The diversity of Querini's network of friends and contacts can be established and demonstrates that his involvement in the political and literary worlds of Italy was not incompatible with his sense of Christian vocation - indeed, Carlo Dionisotti has observed that there were scarcely any purely lay writers in Venice between 1500 and 1550.[1] Querini pursued these interests with his friends, and it is clear that they shaped his spiritual views. His letters make it possible to establish the breadth of his spiritual interests and to reveal their affinities with those of Contarini who evidently owed him more in this sphere than was previously thought. In addition, by considering Querini's political role as revealed in his dispatches, the Florentine and pan-European dimension of both Venetian politics and religion will be revealed. By these means the study of pre-Reformation Christian humanism will be nuanced and the idea of a 'spiritual crisis' in the Renaissance Church will be challenged. Instead, the life and works of Querini (as well as Contarini) assert the continuing or renewed vigour of the

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[1] Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin, 1967) 64.

Catholic Church and Venetian institutions in the face of the spiritual and secular shocks which marked Italy from 1494 onwards.

King Charles VIII's arrival in Italy in 1494, which made an immediate and significant impact upon the peninsula, was both heralded by prophetic writings and foreshadowed by political events. The Venetian churchmen Pietro Delfin and Pietro Barozzi hoped that the French expedition would bring about a spiritual and political renewal. For them, the subsequent war was just and desired by God to remove corruption. This view, shared by Savonarola in Florence, certainly interested other Venetian patricians.[2] On the more prosaic level of political opportunism, the French king's arrival also recalled Venice's invitation to the Duke of Orleans to occupy Milan in 1483, and to Charles VIII himself to claim his rights over Naples during the war of Ferrara (1482-4). While Charles' arrival stimulated a renewed outpouring of rhetoric about 'Italy' among poets and intellectuals[3], Venice claimed to have the preeminent role in the defence of 'Italy' against the barbarians from beyond the Alps. When the Holy League against France was formed in 1495, it not only included the emperor and Spain but excluded Florence and Ferrara and its victory at Fornovo provided the Venetians with an excuse for celebratory and self-congratulatory poetry.[4] Four years later the Treaty of Blois brought Venice into an alliance with France against Maximilian, leaving the Republic free to defend its empire against the Turks until peace was made with them in 1502. In the meantime it gave King Louis XII a free hand to pursue his territorial ambitions in the Milanese. France therefore entered the field of Italian politics to the detriment of Maximilian, and in a manner which provoked irritation and fear in Florence.

Between 1494 and 1503 Venice took advantage of the rivalry of the major powers on the peninsula to add Cremona, Trieste, the Apulian seaports, and land in the Romagna to its possessions. In addition, the Republic further irritated the Florentine government by extending aid to the Pisans during their war with Florence. However, the rivalry of the peninsular powers had dissipated somewhat by 1503 and Julius II, the 'papa terribile', proved more hostile to Venetian claims in the Romagna than had been

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[2] Lucia Giovannozzi, *Contributo alla bibliografia delle opere del Savonarola* (Florence, 1953) lists eighty-eight separate editions of Savonarola's works printed in Venice between 1500 and ca.1550. See also Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: a study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969) 429-52. On Savonarola and Charles VIII's role in the chastisement of Florence see Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: prophecy and patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1970).

[3] Vincent Ilardi, '"Italianità" among some Italian Intellectuals in the early Sixteenth Century', *Traditio* XII (1956) 339-67; Anne Denis, *Charles VIII et les Italiens: histoire et mythe* (Geneva, 1979); David Abulafia (ed.) *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy 1494-95: antecedents and effects* (Aldershot, 1995).

[4] Denis (1979); Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, (trans.) Lydia Cochrane. (Princeton, 1990) especially ch.1.

expected by Venice. From 1504 he sought the help of Louis XII, Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic in the recovery of Rimini and Faenza and of the bishoprics of Cremona and Padua. In 1508, Julius II led an anti-Venetian league and placed an interdict on Venice in the following year.[5]

As one historian of the Italian wars has put it: 'The aim of those who signed the aggression treaty of Cambrai in December 1508, or subsequently joined it, was to turn back the clock of Venetian history on the Terraferma by a century'.[6] Venice was therefore threatened by a powerful alliance consisting of France, Maximilian, Julius II, and Ferdinand of Aragon. Each of these allies had a territorial claim on Venice which was fulfilled in May 1509 when the Venetian forces were defeated at Agnadello, and Venice lost all of its Italian possessions except Treviso, and the villages on the edge of the lagoon. The cry of 'Italia e Libertà' had been raised by the Venetian army before the battle, but after the Venetian defeat the nobles of the *terraferma*, who had long resented their exclusion from government following Venetian conquest, rapidly declared for the French king or for the German emperor. Only the urban poor remained loyal to Venice.[7]

Something of the shock and anger provoked by this defeat shows through in the diary-chronicle of the banker, Girolamo Priuli. He blamed Venice's defeat on the sins of the Venetian noble class which had provoked God's punishment of the city.[8] During 1509-10, a number of prophecies circulated which predicted Venice's defeat.[9] In response to a widespread feeling of this kind sumptuary legislation was re-enacted during the first decade of the century, and particularly after 1512.[10] In June 1509 the Senate strengthened the laws protecting the virtue of nuns, and the patriarch of Venice ordered fasting on Wednesdays and Saturdays, as well as on Fridays. Padua and a strip of towns from Este and Monselice to Feltre and Belluno were re-occupied and lost by the

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[5] On events to 1510 see Federico Seneca, *Venezia e Papa Giulio II* (Padua, 1962)

[6] M. E. Mallett and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c.1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984) 221. For what follows see 221-27.

[7] Angelo Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Milan, 1993; first published 1964) ch.IV.

[8] Girolamo Priuli, *I Diarii* in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. XXIV, part.III [4 vols.] (ed.) R. Cessi, (Bologna, 1937-8) IV, 112. Innocenzo Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi dello stato veneziano* (Naples, 1974) chs.I-VII gives a very detailed consideration of the connection between religion and politics during the years around 1509. He examines Venetian diplomatic relations with Rome before 1509 and considers the city's relations with the *terraferma* before examining Machiavelli's views of Venice (with some reference to the work of Claude de Seyssel). See also Felix Gilbert, 'Venice in the crisis of the League of Cambrai', in J. R. Hale (ed.) *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973) ch.X, which considers the link made by Venetian patricians between moral corruption and political failure; the pressures on the government during 1509-17; and the splits which arose within the patriciate as a result.

[9] Niccoli (1990) 25-29.

[10] G. Bistort, *Il magistrato alle pompe nella republica di Venezia, studio storico* (Venice, 1912; facsimile edition Bologna, 1969) *passim.*

Venetians before being regained by the end of 1509. Venice made peace with Julius II in February, 1510, and in October of the same year the city was in alliance with the pope.

During the summer of 1510 Querini and his friend Tommaso Giustiniani prepared for their withdrawal to the Camaldolese monastery at Camaldoli (near Arezzo, in Tuscany, and far from the major movements of troops) by inspecting the site and preparing a report on it as well as a proposal for the conditions of their entry. At the same time, Venice lost a strip of land from Este to Belluno, including Vicenza, to the enemy, and failed to retake Verona. In the following year, Venice could only defend a small area between Padua, Treviso, and the lagoon. In response to these defeats, as well as to the arrival of plague during 1509-10, and the earthquake of March 1511, which were all interpreted as signs of divine wrath, further measures (such as the prohibition of unnecessary spending and luxury) were taken to bring about a reform of morals.[11]

After the disastrous sack of Brescia by forces led by Gaston de Foix in February 1512, the French army withdrew from Italy (although it continued to maintain garrisons in Venetian territory) and Venice negotiated a truce with Maximilian. However, the Treaty of Blois tied Venetian fortunes to those of the French after 1513. It was only when the French enjoyed success in the Milanese and brought about the bloody defeat of the Swiss troops at Marignano in September 1515 that Venice began to re-acquire much of its lost territory. The Republic's pre-1509 boundaries were finally restored when Maximilian withdrew from Verona at the beginning of 1517, although under the settlement which brought peace to Italy for four years Cremona was ceded to the rulers of Milan, while the lagoon city of Grado, and the town of Gorizia, were left in the hands of the successive heads of the house of Austria.

It is a remarkable demonstration of the political solidarity of the Venetian aristocracy in these difficult circumstances that Gasparo Contarini never contemplated abandoning the civic life irrevocably although the wars had forced him to abandon his studies at the University of Padua.[12] The correspondence written by Contarini to his friends Tommaso Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini was discovered in 1943 by Hubert Jedin

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[11] Sanudo XI, coll.796-99; XII, coll.79-85, 87.

[12] I do not intend to enter into a discussion about the nature of the 'myth' of Venice here. There is a vast literature on this subject, but one may refer most conveniently to James S. Grubb, 'When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography', *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986) 43-94. An approach which I find more constructive in examining the interplay of ideal and reality, particularly in relation to the consensus among patricians in the government of Venice at this time, is developed in Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (London, 1980). See also the useful comparative survey of Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: a study of seventeenth century élites* (Cambridge, 1974: 2nd edition, 1994).

and has shed important light on the reasons underlying Contarini's decision. This correspondence covers the years 1511-18 when Contarini was obliged to come to terms with his friends' decision to take vows and enter the isolated monastery and hermitage at Camaldoli. This decision and Contarini's related spiritual struggle has been interpreted in a variety of ways.[13]

Professor Eugenio Massa has largely been concerned to investigate the theological choices and aspirations to reform of: 'i due personaggi più cospicui: da un lato, il Giustiniani, dall'altro il Contarini...'[14] In attempting to define a 'circle' consisting of those men, principally concentrated on the residency of Tommaso Giustiniani at Murano between 1506 and 1510 and connected with the Camaldolese monastery of San Michele there, Professor Massa has warned that account must be taken of the different relationships and interests which united these friends at different periods of time. It is not possible to define the 'circle' simply by its common interest in Church reform as it also had, as the examples of Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) and Querini show, common literary, philosophical, and philological interests. In addition, neither Giustiniani nor Paolo Canale (1481-1508) can necessarily be made the leader of this circle of friends. As Professor Massa has written:

> Le obiezioni, invece, fioccano se impone qualcuno al "capo" una montura gerarchica sugli altri membri. I documenti non la consentono. Le carte parlan[o] di amici o di grandi amici, ma liberi ed eterogenei. L'amicizia non ha capi, e nessuno mai si fece "capo" d'un vero amico.[15]

If he was not the head, Querini was at least one of the most interesting members of that group of complicated men. Contarini admired his spiritual 'altezza' while simultaneously struggling with his own sense of unworthiness before God. The life of Querini highlights the centrality of the action and conviction in both men's lives. Querini served the Venetian state during its period of supreme difficulty and always held on to his religious convictions. This chapter will demonstrate how action and

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[13] Hubert Jedin, 'Gasparo Contarini e il contributo veneziano alla riforma cattolica', in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento* (Florence and Venice, 1958) 105-24; Felix Gilbert, 'Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini', in T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (eds.) *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: essays in memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, N.J., 1969) 90-116; James Bruce Ross, 'Gasparo Contarini and his Friends', *Studies in the Renaissance* 17 (1970) 192-232; *idem*, 'The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: A Bibliographical Essay', *Church History* 41 (1972) 22-45; Giuseppe Alberigo, 'Vita attiva e vita contemplativa in un "esperienza cristiana del XVI secolo"', *Studi Veneziani* XVI (1974) 177-225; Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità* (Florence, 1988); Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1993).

[14] Eugenio Massa, 'Gasparo Contarini e gli amici, fra Venezia e Camaldoli', in Francesco Cavazzana Romanelli (ed.) *Gaspare Contarini e il suo tempo: atti convegno di studio* (Venice, 1988) 39-91: 39.

[15] *Ibid.* 45. On Paolo Canale see principally *DBI* 17: 668-73.

conviction were reconciled in the period after 1494, and how Querini moved towards the monastic life.

Querini began studying at the University of Padua in 1492 at the age of thirteen, probably after having attended the public school of the Rialto where he would have received the thorough grounding in Aristotelian logic which he later displayed.[16] In the foreword of his disputation held in Rome in 1502 he wrote: 'I spent ten extremely happy years at Padua in the study of philosophy'.[17] He was there in 1494 to witness Benedetto del Tiriaca's examination, graduation, and honouring with the *laurea* 'in artibus' before Tiriaca became a lecturer in logic[18], and he may have been a student of Agostino Nifo who taught there between 1492 and 1496, and 1498 and 1499. It is worth considering briefly the nature of Nifo's teaching, as he later claimed a close acquaintance with Querini. Nifo learnt Greek by 1503 and wrote Aristotelian commentaries which were grounded in the works of Averroes, and Alexander of Aphrodisias, as well as a work on demons (written by 1492, published in 1503) which accepted theological doctrine on demons but also proposed to prove their existence according to natural reason and physical causes, and on the grounds of their response to magic. However, Nifo, who was inconsistent in his arguments, may not have been entirely sincere in his beliefs.

Nifo seems to have been more of a humanist scholar concerned with reconciling philosophy with Christian doctrine by recourse to classical sources than a systematic philosopher. He appears to have abandoned his Averroist approach to the unified intellect by 1503 and moved towards a neo-Platonic syncretism. He used original Greek sources, and the works of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas rather than Averroes

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[16] There is no biography of Querini, and the *DBI* may not reach the letter 'Q' for several decades. One may refer to E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols., (Venice, 1824-61) V, 63-75 which gives an extensive list of primary and secondary material by, or relating to, Querini; J. Schnitzer, *Peter Delfin, General des Camaldulenserordens* (Munich, 1926) 149-162, 227-249 draws on some printed material to describe the stormy relationship between the hermits and Delfin; Hubert Jedin, 'Vicenzo Querini und Pietro Bembo', in *idem, Kirche des Glaubens. Kirche der Geschichte* 2 vols., (Freiburg, 1966) I, 153-66; Heinrich Lutz, 'Vincenzo Querini in Augsburg 1507', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 74 (1955) 200-12; and Jean Leclerq, *Un umaniste ermite: le bienheureux Paul Giustiniani (1476-1528)* (Rome, 1951) which, despite its title, gives full consideration to Querini. See also the curious juxtaposition of Niccolò Machiavelli and Querini in Carlo Dionisotti, *Machiavellerie* (Turin, 1980) 5 & n.4. Felix Gilbert, 'Cristianesimo, Umanesimo e la Bolla "Apostolici Regiminis" del 1513', *Rivista Storica Italiana* LXXIX (1967) 976-90 is very suggestive, but mistaken about Querini's biography (and possibly other matters) in one or two instances.

[17] 'Quoniam...decem iam annos Patavii in philosophiae studiis iocundissime consumpseram.' Vincenzo Querini, *Conclusiones Vincentii Quirini Patritii Veneti Romae disputatae* (n.p., n.d., but Venice, 1502) unpaginated dedicatory preface.

[18] Bruno Nardi, *Studi su Pomponazzi* (Rome, 1965) 106. Benedetto del Tiriaca taught mathematics and astronomy at Padua from 1498 to 1506, and again from 1508 to 1509. Contarini was among his students: Fragnito (1988) 4. Querini was also a witness at the examination of Marc'Antonio delle Torre at Padua on February 1, 1501 (*modo veneziano*): Martellozzo Forin (1969) no.12, 6-7.

in his interpretation of Aristotle and the question of the individual intellect. By means of his syncretism he argued that the immortality of the individual soul could be proven to be true in terms of Christian revelation and philosophy.[19] His direct influence on Querini is unclear, although in February, 1504, after four years in Naples and Salerno he completed a treatise *De diebus criticis* which he dedicated to Querini 'once a pupil, now a colleague'. This work revealed Nifo's continuing belief in astrological influences on illness more than his reconciliation of Christan revelation and philosophy which Querini might have found attractive. This astrological approach was reaffirmed in his works on the causes of the calamities of his age (1505) and on the prophesied Great Flood of 1524 (published in 1519).[20]

Among Querini's eminent contemporaries at Padua was Pietro Bembo, whom he probably met as early as 1494. Bembo was studying at Padua at least between October, 1494 and April, 1495[21] when he was registered at the university for that year, although not for the subsequent year.[22] It is possible to identify Querini as a friend of Bembo's from a letter of 1498 in which Bembo wrote to the cardinal-bishop of Urbino: 'My Querini hails you, and he wishes everything to happen to you prosperously, luckily, and fruitfully'.[23] Two years later Bembo wrote to Querini in order to commiserate with him on the death of his father in terms which suggested quite a long acquaintance. He praised the deceased Antonio Querini for his service to the republic. He added: '...I will [now] hold for you the place of a true brother, and you for me...'[24]

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[19] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 8 vols., (New York, 1923-58) V, ch.v; Cesare Vasoli, 'La logica' *SCV* 3/III, 35-73: 50-52. Charles H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors N - Ph.', *Renaissance Quarterly* XXXII (1979) 529-80: 532-39 gives the best bibliographical and biographical account of Nifo. On Nifo and the intellective soul see Eckhard Kessler, 'The intellective soul' ch. 15 in Charles B. Schmitt *et al* (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), especially 496-500.

[20] 'nuper discipulo nunc autem collegae'. Quoted in Thorndike (1923-58) V, 79, n.39. I have consulted *Augustini Nyphi Suessani Medici ac astrologi excellentissimi de diebus Criticis seu decretorijs aureus liber ad Vicentium Quirinum patritium Venetum* (Argentorati per Henricum Sybold, n.d. but 1519) This edition omits the above quotation, but Nifo records: 'Habes igitur mi Quirine libellum hunc quem diligenter legas, quae enim hic scripsimus nostra in aetate maturiori perdimus, quae vero olim edidimus, intantum recipias in quantum tuo arguto videntur ingenio, plura enim ex i[u]venili calamo diximus, quem nunc proventiori retineremus'. *Ibid.*, sigs. H2v-[2]A3r.

[21] Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, (ed.) Ernesto Travi, 4 vols., in progress (Bologna, 1987-) I, letters no. 8 (1 October 1494) & 12 (29 April 1495). Note also the comment in the preface of *Constantini Lascaris Erotemata* (Aldus: Venice, 1495): 'Petrus Bembus et Angelus Gabriel...nunc Patavii incumbunt una liberalibus disciplinis'.

[22] *DBI* 8: 134.

[23] 'Quirinus meus multa te salute impertit, optatque tibi omnia prospere, fauste, feliciter, evenire.' *Lettere* I, no.26 (20 April 1498) 23.

[24] 'Optimum civem, et magni et praesantis animi virum, ereptum esse reipublicae hoc tempore, cum quidem maxime addi aliquid in tanta paucitate ad bonorum hominum numerum oportebat;...' ; '...ego in te germani fratris habuerim loco, tu me,...' *Ibid.* I, no.65 (1 May 1500) 53, 54. On Antonio Querini's death see Sanudo III, col.264. On Antonio Querini's military career see *ibid.* coll.64, 80, 125, 144, 181, 210.

Querini's growing friendship with Bembo is further indicated by a letter of September 1502 in which Bembo recorded that he, Querini, and Valerio Superchio, a Paduan astronomer, had returned to Venice from Rome in the middle of the previous June.[25] There, Querini and Superchio had presented their disputations on the works of Aristotle on 29 May 1502 in the presence of several cardinals. These disputes, which were traditionally used by Venetian and Paduan scholars, originated in the medieval 'Quaestiones disputatae' and 'Quodlibeta' or 'Quaestiones de quolibet' developed at the University of Paris, which in turn were derived from monastic 'collationes'. They were undertaken on public occasions in Venice, Padua, and Rome from as early as the 1480's. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusiones* (1486) presented at Rome are only the most celebrated of these, consisting as they do of an original juxtaposition of Platonic, Aristotelian, neo-Platonic, and esoteric sources. Bruno Nardi, who has called for their study, noted about a dozen which have been printed.[26] After the cardinals at Rome had listened to Querini's defence of his conclusions the pope granted his doctorate in person in the consistory and Querini's work was immediately put to press by Superchio's publisher.[27]

Querini was thus one of only twenty Venetian patricians to receive doctorates in the period 1500-14.[28] Bembo referred to their visit to Rome in the preamble of his *De Virgilii culice* (composed 1502-03; published 1530). He described how the city had admired Querini's performance although he was still a youth, and that many learned men, including the humanist Raffaelo Maffei 'Volaterrano', and Ercole Strozzi, had met them.[29] He later noted that Greek and Latin letters owed a great deal to Superchio and Querini, a piquant comment in the light of Bembo's expertise in the first language, and Maffei's outstanding reputation in the second.[30] In a letter to Querini and a friend, Bembo referred to the disputation, and to 'Querini, who [answered] so many problems

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[25] *Lettere* I (15 September 1502) no.135.

[26] Bruno Nardi, *Saggi sulla cultura veneta del Quattro e Cinquecento.* (Padua, 1971) 93, n.2.

[27] '...le soe conclusione fonno butate a stampa; opera molto degna'. Sanudo IV, coll.278-79. Superchio's *De laudibus astronomae oratio* was printed by Simon Bevilaqua ca. 1498. See the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum (supplement)* (London, 1986) 76.

[28] François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, 'L'università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento', *SCV* 3/III, 607-47: 633. During 1507-08 there were 200-250 students in total attending the university. *Ibid.* 631.

[29] 'Cum superiore anno Romae ego & noster Quirinus essemus eo tempore, cum ille magno hominum concursu, magna admiratione civitatis, quatuor millibus ac quingentis illis a se Philosophia propositis sententiis, omnium omnis disciplinae philosophorum impetus pene puer summa cum gloria sustinuit, erant Stroti, nobiscum saepe cum alii docti viri, quibus semper floruit illa urbs, non sane pauci, tum vel in primis phaedrus Volaterranus.' *Opere del Cardinale Pietro Bembo.* 4 vols., (Venice, 1729) IV, 303-19: 303.

[30] '...et Qurini mei...Huic homini et Graecae et Latinae litterae plurimum debent;...' *Lettere* I, no.135 (15 September 1502) 130.

at Rome, and who was questioned by all...'[31] Bembo wrote to Jacopo Sadoleto in Rome: 'I have sent an example of your letters to Vincenzo Querini, Angelo Gabriele, and Superchio the doctor;...'[32] and much later in his life referred to Querini as '...a man famous in the studies of philosophy'.[33] In 1502, Girolamo Avanzo Veronese (who wrote to Superchio in 1499) dedicated one of his works to Querini whom he described as the 'conciliator of peripatetic and academic dogma', and as the 'star of knowledge'.[34]

Querini's academic reputation was securely established by the printed edition (1502) of his *conclusiones* which was addressed to Pope Alexander VI. In his confident and eloquent dedication Querini also praised Cesare Borgia for his interest in the arts and learning. He noted that it was the custom of philosophers, the deeper they moved in their study, to argue with the opinions of other philosophers in careful public disputations. So it was the custom now and Querini had hazarded to come to Rome after ten very happy years at Padua in order to present his disputation because of the pope's favour. He had also heard that Cesare Borgia had acquired a great empire in a very short space of time, undefeated in arms or spirit, and that Cesare welcomed studies and knowledge. As well as being one of the most skilled princes in military matters, there had hardly ever been anyone more friendly to literary studies than Cesare, for which he would be long remembered. Therefore, Querini gave his 4050 articles, which were derived from Christian and peripatetic precepts, to the immortal glory of Cesare's name. The work was divided into sections covering theological and philosophical propositions from the 'productione personarum divinarum' to the 'gubernatione domus'. That is to say, he considered matter by moving from its metaphysical form to the natural, and finally to the moral, touching on correct Christian ethics and political behaviour on the way.[35]

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[31] 'Nunc ego te appello, Quirine, qui tot milia πρωβληματων Romae, qui omnibus poscentibus [...] nota caetera;...' *Ibid.* no.141 (31 October 1502) 135.

[32] 'Vincentio Quirino et Angelo Gabrieli et Valerio phisico mittam tuarum litterarum exemplum;...' *Ibid.* no.149 (27 March 1503) 143.

[33] '...vir in philosophiae studiis clarus...' *Petri Bembi Cardinalis viri clariss. rerum Venetarum historiae libri XII* (Paris, 1551) Bk. VII, f. 157r. See also *ibid.* ff. 157v, 159r on Querini's diplomatic activity.

[34] 'Nobilissimorum eruditissimorumq. humanissimo Vincentio Hieronymi f. Quirino patritio Veneto...Salve Achademicorum Peripateticorumq. docmatum [sic] conciliator.'; '...Scientiarum sydus.' The preface of Veronese's *Lidii Catti Opuscula* (Jo. Tacuinus: Venice, 1502) is reprinted in *AC* IX, coll.598-99. The letter from Veronese to Valerio Superchio is cited by Cicogna (1824-61) V, 68. In Giovanni Aurelio Augurello's *Iambicus Liber Primus* (Aldus; Venice, 1505) the work 'Vellus aureum' is dedicated to Querini who is referred to as 'rerum omnium scrutator gravissimus.'

[35] 'Ad haec accessit quod audiebam Caesarem Borgiam tuum qui sibi armis atque animo invictissimo brevi tempore magnum imperium quaesivisset: bona studia bonasque artes amplectendo magnum nomen quaerere: quod quidem sibi multo erit facilius quem illud fuit: ac nescio an etiam maioris gloriae. Nam rem quidem militarem multi boni gessere principes quorum memoria interiit: litterarum studiis nemo unquam paulo amicior fuit: quin tandiu vivat quem illa vivunt: maneatque in ore hominum cum eorum qui scripsere monumentis.' Querini (1502), unpaginated preface. I consulted the

Querini's visit to Rome established his academic reputation there and in Venice, as well as arousing the literary expectations of humanists like Maffei, Bembo, and Sadoleto. The visit may also have had political and religious implications. In 1502 the Borgias were at the zenith of their power, and during March to November of that year Alexander VI was urging a papal-Venetian alliance as the basis for a 'national' politics to expel France and Spain from Italy.[36] However, the direct political importance of Querini's presence in Rome at this time remains obscure, although it is possible to speculate that he and his friends provided some informal channel of communication between Alexander VI and Doge Leonardo Loredan.

While neither Alexander VI nor Cesare Borgia is now generally considered great patrons of religion or the arts, it is perhaps worth considering briefly what they had achieved in those spheres by the time Querini reached Rome. Alexander VI showed some interest in curial reform during 1497-8 when he appointed a powerful commission of cardinals, bishops, priests, and deacons in order to suggest reforms. However, the draft bull which emerged seems to have been cast from the same cautious mould as previous papal statements of this kind. It did not tackle the financial departments of the curia, nor did it pay any attention to expectatives, commendams, and the sale of offices, and therefore remained a dead letter.[37] Alexander certainly supported monastic orders and extended protection to the Augustinian Hermits in Italy known as apostolic brothers. He repressed heresy very energetically and acted against crypto-Jews. He was also interested in extending Christianity to the newly discovered lands, including those of Spain and Portugal in the Americas. In 1502 several Franciscan missionaries were sent to America at the instigation of Cardinal Ximenes. Alexander VI himself may have taken some interest in this issue as a bull dated December, 1501 beginning 'Catholice fidei propagationem...' suggests.[38]

Cesare Borgia, whose artistic patronage and military success Querini praised, and whose magnificence certainly impressed Niccolò Machiavelli (Florentine representative to the duke in 1502) employed the artist Pinturicchio and also contributed to the building of the church of the Madonna del Piratello at Imola.[39] Of course, at this time

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copy of this rare work in the BL, pressmark 8463.de.9. For a brief examination of the book's treatment of Aristotelian political theory see below, ch. 7.

[36] Seneca (1962) 12 & n.17.

[37] On this see Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977) 87.

[38] For this surprisingly favourable treatment of Alexander VI see Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes* 10 vols., (London, 1891-1910) VI, 142-46, 156-64, 164n.

[39] *Ibid.* 176n. On the Duke's 'mediocre' court see Michael Mallett, *The Borgias* (London, 1969) 216-18. On its poets see Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia* (London, 1948) 79-86. Of course Pietro Bembo dedicated *Gli Asolani* to Lucrezia Borgia in 1505.

(at least between July and October 1502, and possibly until February, 1503) Cesare employed Leonardo da Vinci, although only in the capacity of Architect and General Engineer. However, the duke's conquest of Urbino in June, 1502 brought at least one ancient manuscript (of Archimedes) to Rome, and at the very least gave da Vinci access to the Montefeltro diptych by Piero della Francesca.[40]

It was probably in Rome that Querini also met Cardinal Bernardino López de Carvajal. He was later to be one of the schismatic cardinals who attended the French-inspired Council of Pisa. Pietro Bembo certainly met Carvajal around this time, and in a letter which Bembo wrote to introduce himself to the cardinal, he praised Carvajal's intelligence, doctrine, prudence, religion, and sanctity, and he declared that no-one was more worthy of being elected pope.[41] At the beginning of 1508, Bembo addressed Carvajal on his return from his legation to Maximilian (where he had met Querini) as '...the best and most humane patron of my fortunes...'[42] Carvajal seems to have taken some interest in prophecy and later preached on themes very similar to those contained in the *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513) of Querini and Giustiniani.[43] Curiously enough, it was precisely when Querini was in Rome that Carvajal and Giorgio Benigno Salviati (a Bosnian Franciscan member of his household) opened a pseudo-Amadeite prophecy which may have interested the Venetian, who was later to show a strong interest in prophecy.[44]

Querini's friendship with Bembo was therefore founded on common religious, literary, and philosophical interests. The two men were quite closely linked until Querini's death, although their relationship was often strained or hedged around with mutual suspicion. Querini, who was sometimes accused of ambition, may have enhanced his literary, academic, and political reputation by his association with Bembo. Bernardo Bembo had had a distinguished diplomatic career and accumulated many literary friends in Florence, as well as a library rich in Greek manuscripts. His son Pietro studied Greek under Constantinis Lascaris at Messina in Sicily between 1492 and 1494 and he became connected with the group of Greek scholars around the printer Aldus Manutius on his return to Venice.[45] It was probably his friendship with Manutius which led him

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[40] Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci* (London, 1981) 216, 217, 227-28, 230, 233, 234, 254, 265.
[41] *Lettere* I, no.236 (5 June 1506).
[42] '...mearum fortunarum patrono optimo atque humanissimo utor...' *Ibid.* II, no.272 (16 January 1508) 10.
[43] Below, ch.4.
[44] Below, ch.2.
[45] See *Aldo Manuzio Editore. Dediche. Prefazioni. Note ai testi.* (intro.) C. Dionisotti, (ed.) G. Orlandini. 2 vols., (Milan, 1975): I, 3,107,152. (Dedications or references to Bembo by Manutius in publications of 1495, 1513, and 1514. In 1513 Manutius wrote: 'Petrus Bembus noster, decus eruditorum aetatis nostrae et magnae spes altera Romae.' [Aeneid XII, 168])

to Ferrara in 1497 where he became acquainted with Alberto Pio, Duke of Carpi. However, while Querini successfully began a diplomatic career, Bembo failed to gain a suitable post and he left the city for the court of Urbino in 1506. Here he made contact with Baldassare Castiglione, Giuliano de'Medici (1479-1516), and Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena who were all enjoying the patronage of Elisabetta Gonzaga. It is useful to identify Bembo's growing circle of patrons and friends as many of them were later to become friendly with Querini and Giustiniani.[46] In December 1508 Castiglione commented that Querini was 'a man of authority'.[47]

Bembo seems to have shared with Querini an interest in the conflict between public duty and private study and spirituality - his *De Aetna* (1496) discussed these matters, and he later considered a temporary monastic withdrawal.[48] The literary and spiritual interests of Querini and his friends coincided in the Petrarchan sonnets which they wrote. These sonnets were suffused with strong feelings of spirituality. This spirituality was usually characterized in naturalistic terms as the triumph of the beauty of rays of sunshine over shadows. Splendour, light, and beauty penetrated the souls of the poets as intimations of the eternal beatitude of Heaven.[49] One of Querini's poems began: 'Sometimes a living ray appears and fills my heart with so much sweetness, that I say: truly here is now the happy end of my long journey...'[50] In other poems, Querini and his friends expressed their love of Christ and described the deep feelings which His suffering had aroused in them.

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[46] Remarkably, there is no definitive biography of Pietro Bembo. Besides Carlo Dionisotti's article in the *DBI* 8: 133-51 some useful information may be gleaned from Nella Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo, umanista e politico veneziano* (Florence, 1985). *Faute de mieux* one can consult Vittore Cian, *Un decennio della vita di Pietro Bembo* (Torino, 1885). For his library see Cecil Clough, *Pietro Bembo's Library as represented particularly in the British Museum* (London, 1971). See also Bembo's *Opere* 12 vols., (Milan, 1808-10); *idem, Prose e rime*, (ed.) Paolo Simoncelli (Turin, 1980); *Lettere*.

[47] '...homo de auctorità...' Baldassare Castiglione, *Le lettere* (ed.) Guido La Rocca (Milan, 1978) 210.

[48] Pietro Bembo contrasts his father's love of the countryside with the cares provoked by his residence in the city and by his public duties in his *De Aetna* (Aldus: Venice, 1495 [m.v.]) sigs. Aiiir-iiiiv. This motif in Bembo's life and writing is discussed by Piero Floriani, *Bembo e Castiglione. Studi sul classicismo del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1976), and see below, ch. 2.

[49] For Giustiniani's poetry see *TLF* II, 101-22. For Canale see *DBI:* 17: 672; see also Bembo (1980). For the mss of Querini's verse see: Venezia Bibl. Querini-Stampalia VI 95 cart. misc. XVIII Insert.2 f.5: bibliography of the editions of the rime of Querini; f.6: Catalogue of the writings of Querini. For 16th century mss,VBM Italiani classe IX cod.109 (6743) (and Trifone Gabriele's poetry); cod.154 (6752) (and Tiepolo's poetry); cod.202 (6755-56); cod.203 (6757); cod.213 (6881); cod.622 (10703); Marc. Ital. IX 307 (7564). For 17th- and 18th-century mss: Italiani classe IX cod.242 (6893). Also at Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 91 misc. XV; 163 misc. XVI. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica: Sigma IV 11 cart.XVIII ff.156ff. All *loc. cit.* Kristeller (1963-90) *passim ad ind.* Several poems are printed in *Il primo volume delle rime scelte da diversi autori...* 2 vols., (Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari: Venice, 1565) I, 410-15. A poem of Trifone Gabriele is printed *ibid.* 415. For a full list of later sixteenth-century examples of Querini's verse in print, as well as a couple of examples which he attributes to Querini, see Cicogna (1824-61) V, 71-74. A verse by Paolo Canale expressing his gratitude for Christ's suffering on the cross is printed in P. Vittorino Meneghin O.F.M., *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia* 2 vols., (Venice, 1962) I, 184.

[50] 'Talor nell' apparir d'un vivo raggio/ Tanta dolcezza dentro 'l cor mio sente/ Ch'io dico: or ecco giunto veramente/ Il dolce fin del lungo mio viaggio' Cicogna (1824-61) V, 74.

In 1505, Giovanni Aurelio Augurello dedicated a poem entitled 'Vellus aureum' to Querini. Augurello was an early poetic mentor to Pietro Bembo, possibly influencing him in the direction of serious consideration of the vernacular, particularly Petrarch's Italian verse. He was on friendly terms with Querini and Gasparo Contarini by 1512.[51] He was working in Venice during 1509-15 on a study of the Italian language with Trifone Gabriele and in 1512 aided the revision of Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* with Gabriele, Ramusio, and Niccolò Tiepolo. In his poem's dedication he described Querini as a 'most grave examiner of all things'. The poem is obscurely allegorical and describes the transformation of a sheep into gold which may be interpreted as Augurello's hopes for the return of the Golden Age for the Church, or simply as a reflection of his own famous alchemical dreams. In the same book Augurello also dedicated poems to Paulo Canale, Trifone Gabriele, and Pietro Bembo, confirming their literary association with Querini.[52]

It is possible that Querini contributed to Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* at some stage. He also seems to have been one of those friends who read *Gli Asolani* (published 1505) in draft.[53] Querini would certainly have known of Bembo's interest in the vernacular from at least 1501-02 when the latter edited Petrarch and Dante for Aldus Manutius, and sought thereby to elevate the form to classic status.[54] Besides a common interest in the Petrarchan sonnet form and its spiritual content, Querini shared Bembo's interest in the use of the vernacular which the *Prose della volgar lingua* considered. There is evidence for this interest in the *Libellus ad Leonem X*, which Querini composed in collaboration with Giustiniani after they had become hermits. In this treatise, the hermits proposed that the propagation of the Catholic faith would be aided by a vernacular translation of the Bible from the most correct Greek and Hebrew texts.[55] It is also interesting to note that *Gli Asolani* concluded with a learned hermit who advised the figure Lavinello to contemplate the divine. Bembo later associated

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[51] *C. und C.* Letter no.10 (10 March 1512) 86.

[52] 'rerum omnium scrutator...gravissimus.' Augurello (1505) lib.I, carmen V. See, respectively, lib.I, carmen XVI; lib.II, carmen X; lib. II, carmen XVI & lib.II, ode VI. On Augerello see *DBI* 4: 578-81. See also Girolami Bologni's epode to Querini on the occasion of his appointment as ambassador to Maximilian in 1507: *AC* IX, 117-18. See also 'Hieronymi Bononii Tarvisini Promiscuorum liber primus etc', (verses to Vincenzo and Antonio Querini) BCV, cod. Cicogna 2664 (1870) cart. XVI. f.160; cod. 2666 (1872) 'Hier. Bononius - Odae' (verses to Querini). On this work and Bologni see *DBI* 11: 327-31. His epitaph on Paolo Canale is printed in *AC* IX, col.116. See also the poem by Lydus Cattus dedicated to Querini in *Lydii Catti Ravennatis Opuscula* (Tacuinus; Venice, 1502).

[53] *Lettere* I, no.145 (24 December 1502).

[54] That, at least, is the conclusion of Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: the editor and the vernacular text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge, 1994) ch.4.

[55] *AC* IX, coll. 681-2. See below, ch. 4.

Querini's decision to follow a similar course with the advice of the hermit, and the actions of Lavinello.[56]

Querini's literary association with Bembo and other Venetians is confirmed by a work of Bembo, entitled in manuscript (at a later date) *Leggi della Compagnia degli Amici.* This light-hearted sketch records the friendship of 'M.V.Q. e M.T.G. e M.N.T. e M.P.B.', who are identifiable as (Messer) Vincenzo Querini, Trifone Gabriele, Niccolò Tiepolo, and Pietro Bembo himself. In the *Leggi* Bembo declared the eternal friendship that would exist between the men mentioned. This association would be symbolized by the wearing of inscribed gold medals. They would also have portraits made of each other and always hold their goods in common. Like brothers they would share their enemies except when it distracted from the homeland's wars.

New members could be added if they were learned and literary men, or women of clear intelligence. These newcomers had to be agreed on by all, and had to swear an oath. Their acceptance into the company was to be accompanied by eight days of celebration during which the members were to present some piece of poetry in Latin. Black was to be worn for thirty days if any member of the company died, and further verses were to be composed, although any female member not adept in verse composition was to be allowed to produce a piece of prose.[57] The 'Compagnia' can probably be dated to the years after 1500, and before 1505 (when Bembo left Venice for Urbino), and it is likely that Giustiniani was also involved. Bembo certainly knew Giustiniani by 1506, and the letters 'T.G.' in the *Leggi* may, in fact refer to him rather than to Trifone Gabriele.[58]

Bembo's authorship of this *jeu d'esprit* suggests that he was the leading member of this company of friends, at least in terms of literary skill. It provides a rare glimpse of the light-hearted and amicable nature of their literary association, and seems to reflect the fraternal sodalities peculiar to Venice, or the statutes of the Greek academy which were promulgated by the publisher Aldus Manutius. Querini's own contribution to literature was noted by Manutius in the dedication to Alberto Pio da Carpi of the 1500 edition of Lucretius.[59] It is possible that Querini came to know both of these men principally through Bembo, and that all of them stimulated and encouraged his interest in Greek philosophy. During the years 1495-1501 Manutius published Greek material, notably the works of Aristotle. This concern for Greek texts coincided with demands for

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[56] *Lettere* I, no. 245 (10 December 1506) 239. See below, ch. 2.
[57] The work is printed in Bembo (1980) 699-703. The identification of the friends is made by Paolo Simoncelli at *Ibid.* 699, n.2.
[58] *Lettere* I, no.242 (3 December 1506) 230-1
[59] 'Velim has lucubrationes Vincentio Quirino literarum decori eximio.' *T. Lucretii Cari, Libri Sex nuper emendati* (Aldus Manutius: Venice, December, 1500) f. 2v.

lectures on Aristotle in the original Greek at the University of Padua, and the appointment of Niccolò Leonico Tomeo to do so in 1497 'at the instance of the scholars'.[60]

One of the more practical reasons why Querini and other Venetian scholars might have been interested in Greek is suggested by Manutius' prefatory dedication of the *Rhetores Graeci* (1509) to Marcus Musurus. In it he praised Musurus' teaching of Greek and quoted Cicero in praise of Greek models of eloquence, a very necessary accomplishment for a patrician ascending the state career ladder. Between 1501 and 1503 there was a decline in the number of Greek works printed and the appearance of more marketable Latin compositions such as Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Cicero, Statius, and Lucan. There was a further decline in the total volume of publications until 1509 when the wars of the League of Cambrai forced Manutius to shut up shop until 1512. However, from around August 1502 Manutius sought to promote Greek studies through the foundation of an Academy.[61] Among the signatories of the 'Statute of the New Academy' which seems to have been printed at this time, were Giovanni Battista Egnazio and Paolo da Canal (i.e. Canale). Both of these men were friends of Querini, and his association with Manutius from at least 1500 as well as his Hellenism must have made the revival of Greek studies, which this statute announced, very attractive to him.

Querini was also associated with the public school of the Rialto in Venice. This institution was traditionally associated with the teaching of Aristotelian philosophy in the Averroist manner. However, some contact with the rival school of San Marco is suggested by Marc'Antonio Sabellico's oration in praise of philosophy at the Rialto school at the opening of the school year in 1490. Sabellico was then, with Giorgio Valla, a teacher at the school of San Marco.[62] It is not known whether Querini attended the Rialto school but he was unsuccessfully nominated 'lector im [sic] philosophia' there in 1505.[63] This association, or perhaps simply his growing reputation, must account for his presence at Luca Pacioli's lecture at the church of San Bartolomeo at the Rialto on 11 August 1508.

Pacioli was a Franciscan friar who had been educated at the Rialto school and lived in Milan between 1496 and 1500, partly with Leonardo da Vinci, on whom he had a great

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[60] '...instantia omnium illorum scolarium.' Senatorial decision quoted in Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius* (Oxford, 1979) 102, n.34. See also *ibid.* 79, 111.
[61] *Ibid.* 195-207 gives a cautious assessment of the Aldine 'Academy.'
[62] On this matter see Fernando Lepori, 'La Scuola di Rialto dalla fondazione alla metà del Cinquecento', *SCV* 3/II, 539-605: 585.
[63] Sanudo VI, col.184 (14 June 1505).

influence. He combined Aristotelian empiricism with a Pythagorean or Platonic reverence for the divine mystery of mathematical order.[64] He returned to Venice in 1508 to publish his work *Divina proportione*.[65] His lecture was given at the instance of the Rialto school and took place in the church traditionally given over to such events. It was published as a prolusion to the fifth book of Euclid in the 1509 Latin edition of Euclid. In it he asserted, among other things, that theology was impossible without proper knowledge of arithmetic or geometry. Also present at this event were Janus Lascaris, the French ambassador; the Spanish ambassador; the ducal chancellor; Giovanni Battista Egnazio; Bernardo Bembo; 'M[esser]. V[eneziano]. Vincentius Qurinus Doctor'; and Niccolò Tiepolo. Among the 'medici illustres' is listed Tommaso Giustiniani as one 'M.V. Thomas Iustinianus'. Also present were Aldus Manutius, and the prominent Florentines Matteo Cini[66], and Bernardo and Giovanni Rucellai.[67]

Alberto Pio da Carpi may have been a friend of Querini who helped to promote his academic reputation and introduce him to the Aldine circle by 1500. Pio emerged as a champion of Aristotelian studies during 1495-1505. He acted as a patron to the philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi, who lived in his household at Ferrara between 1496 and 1499. He also took Marcus Musurus into his household as Greek tutor and librarian between 1499 and 1503, and they remained in close contact after Musurus left to take up his chair at Padua.[68] Between 1500 and 1507 Pio was based at Carpi where he set about establishing his court as a centre for the arts and attempted to bring his old tutor, Aldus Manutius, to the city. Querini may have come to know Pio through Musurus, Manutius, or Pietro Bembo. Certainly in December, 1511, when Querini had left Venice and was staying in Florence, Gasparo Contarini wrote to Querini to tell him that Pio had been asking after him.[69] Pio had been in Venice since the end of November as a representative of the Emperor Maximilian in the negotiations for a Venetian-Imperial peace. While in Venice he also visited the Arsenal and, on the day that Contarini wrote to Querini, he went to see the map of the world which Marin Sanudo

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[64] Kemp (1981) 148-49, 216, 228, 248, 293, 312.

[65] *Divina Proportione, opera a tuti gli ingegni perspicaci e curiosi necessaria, ove ciascuno studioso di philosophia, prospectiva, pictura, sculptura, architectura, musica, e altre mathematice* (Paganinis: Venice, 1508).

[66] On this Florentine see John N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512-1530* (Oxford, 1983) 134, 250, 251, n.6.

[67] *Euclidis Megarensis...Opera* (Paganinis: Venice, 1509). The text of the prolusion is at f.30r. The list of names is at ff.31r-v. These folios are conveniently reprinted and reproduced in Nardi (1971) 69-72, n.1; plates 15 & 16.

[68] C. B. Schmitt, 'Alberto Pio and the Aristotelian Studies of His Time', *Società, politica eultura a Carpi ai tempi di Alberto III Pio. Atti del convegno internazionale (Carpi, 19-21 maggio 1978)* 2 vols., (Padua, 1981) I, 43-64.

[69] *C. und C.* Letter no.6 (3 December 1511) 72; letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 75.

possessed, in the company of other patricians and Marcus Musurus. Pio remained in Venice until July 1512.[70]

It was precisely at the moment when Querini figures with Manutius among the audience at San Bartolomeo that the Dutch humanist Erasmus was working on the revised edition of his *Adages* with Manutius. Erasmus was in Venice by January 1508, where he remained until December, when he went to Padua. According to his *Adages*, while Erasmus was in Venice he knew Pietro Bembo and was provided with Greek manuscripts by Janus Lascaris, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, Marcus Musurus, and Frate Urbano.[71] There is therefore the tantalizing possibility that Erasmus and Querini met during these months. However, it is much more difficult to establish that any correspondence between Erasmus' and Querini's spirituality is owed directly to this experience, although Erasmus' presence certainly stimulated others to return to the Greek New Testament - just as Querini later advocated.[72] Erasmus' deprecation of the literal exegesis of scripture, and his quest for a spirituality which would reinvigorate both monastic and lay life by the Christian's attainment of virtue and wisdom in either sphere through the love of Christ, were shared by Querini. However, Querini's views seem to have taken this form before 1508, and were certainly consonant with the Italian Christian humanism shared by his friends.[73]

Marcus Musurus was among the friends of Querini who were thanked by Erasmus for his help in providing Greek manuscripts. Musurus taught Greek grammar and the poetry of Homer, Hesiod, and Theocritus. Since Niccolò Leonico Tomeo already

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[70] Sanudo XIII, coll.261, 264-65, 266, 267, 272 (peace negotiations), 278 (Pio visits the Arsenal on 28 November 1511), 293 (Pio sees Sanudo's 'mapamundo' on 3 December 1511), 317, 326, 334; XIV, col. 451 (further negotiations).

[71] Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagiorum chiliades tres...* (In aedibus Anshelmi: Tubingen, 1514) ff.112v-113r mentions Bembo and praises his learning. However, the names of the other Venetians were only inserted in later editions of the work. See *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, various editors and translators, 86 vols., (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1974-) XXXIII, 14.

[72] Fragnito (1988) 146-51 suggests possible Erasmian influences, echoes, and references in the work of Gasparo Contarini. Deno Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: studies in the dissemination of Greek learning from Byzantium to the west* (Harvard, 1962) ch.9 considers Erasmus and the Aldine Hellenists and argues for the significance of the Venetian experience for Erasmus. See also Augustin Renaudet, *Erasme et l'Italie* (Geneva, 1954), although his treatment of Erasmus' stay in Venice is rather perfunctory. More recently, Dotta. Silvana Seidel Menchi has argued that interest in Erasmus in Italy only really took off (in Padua) from around 1520. See her *Erasmo in Italia 1520-1580* (Turin, 1987). However, Erasmus brought a copy of Lorenzo Valla's *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum* to Italy in 1507. It was transcribed by a member of the Aldine circle: Carlo Vecce, 'Tradizioni Valliane tra Parigi e le Fiandre dal Cusano ad Erasmo', in Ottavio Besomi and Mariangela Regoliosi (eds.) *Lorenzo Valla e l' umanesimo italianistici. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici (Parma, 18-19 ottobre, 1984)* (Padua, 1986) 399-408: 401. Contarini certainly read Erasmus' *De libero arbitrio* (1524) by c. 1530-5. He cites it in his own work of that title. See Gasparo Contarini, *Gegenreformatorische Schriften (1530c-1542)*, (ed.) Friedrich Hünermann (Münster in Westfalen, 1923) 7.

[73] Erasmus' views are derived from the discussion of the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (written 1500-01; published 1503) in James McConica, *Erasmus* (Oxford, 1991) ch. 4. Querini's spirituality is discussed further below, chs. 2-4.

taught Aristotelian philosophy in Greek at Padua, Musurus may have only instructed students in Aristotle's non-philosophical works in the original language.[74] He helped Manutius with several of his Greek publications, including Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentaries on Aristotle's *Topics*. In 1505 he made a Latin translation of the Byzantine John Philoponos' commentary on Aristotle's books on generation and corruption. However, between 1509 and 1516 when teaching at the University of Padua was disrupted, Musurus was working on Plato and certainly knew Contarini and Querini.[75]

It is therefore possible to identify a core group of friends with common literary, philosophical and religious interests. Most of these friendships dated from the 1490's when the Venetians were attending the University of Padua. In many cases there was also a reciprocal relationship between academic pursuits and the activities of the Aldine publishing house. Pietro Bembo profitted most obviously from his relationship with Manutius, and he published four books with him by 1505. Querini, Giustiniani, Tiepolo, and Canale were all connected with the revival of Greek language and philosophy which began at Padua in the 1490's, and which was encouraged by Manutius. Querini established an early academic reputation in Greek philosophy as his doctoral work and academic appointment attest. This reputation may have been enhanced by his association with Agostino Nifo. The interest of all these men in Petrarchan sonnets may have been stimulated by Bembo or by his mentor Augurello. It is more difficult to establish the origin of their common interest in spiritual matters which these sonnets, however unoriginally, reveal. Giustiniani and Querini had decided to embrace the monastic life of contemplation by 1500. All of their friends flirted with this idea.[76] Their companionship in literary and philosophical matters between 1490 and 1510 probably complemented the ideal of monastic withdrawal. Querini's decision to enter diplomatic service between 1505 and 1507 does not necessarily indicate that he abandoned his comitment to this ideal, and in fact seems to have been instrumental in developing his fitness to accept his vocation.

Barely a month after he was awarded his doctorate in Rome, Querini was nominated (but not elected) for the post of ambassador to the King of the Romans.[77] He undertook two arduous diplomatic tours of duty between 1505 and 1507, and even after his withdrawal to the hermitage at Camaldoli in 1512 he spent time in Rome as a diplomatic representative for Venice. There was certainly no contradiction between pursuing

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[74] Geanakoplos (1962) ch.5, especially 135-42.
[75] *C. und C.* Letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 75.
[76] See below, ch. 2.
[77] Sanudo IV, col.293. (14 July 1502)

literary and academic interests and a diplomatic career. Marc'Antonio Sabellico opened the Rialto school's academic year in 1490 with a speech in praise of philosophy. He asserted that philosophy was important for the government of the state. Antonio Corner, a teacher at the school, in fact became *podestà* of Vicenza in the same year. Between 1498 and 1502 Antonio Giustiniani was appointed to the Rialto school before he went to Rome to become ambassador in Rome.[78] Bembo himself attempted to gain a government or diplomatic position. He praised Querini's success in this sphere which he regarded as being complementary to philosophical interests. Writing to Valerio Superchio in 1506 Bembo remarked:

> In this matter our Querini seems to be wise, in that he does not rejoice with me over [my] hope. For he knows - he is a remarkable man, having been a philosopher at home, and having recently become well-versed in many things abroad - how often she [i.e. Fortune] has detained us for no good reason and how deceptive and uncertain a goddess she is; and yet I am also in this way in a worse condition and circumstance than you: that I am deprived of all of you at once: you Querini, the Gabriele [brothers], Tiepolo, Giustiniani, Savorgnan, my Canale, nothing is dearer or more pleasant to me in life than each of you.[79]

Querini's dispatches and *relazioni* reveal that his service to the state could function as a part of his spiritual convictions.

Querini was elected as ambassador to Philip of Burgundy on 16 December 1504 at the remarkably young age of twenty-five. It was more usual for patricians to be excluded from the high offices of state for a longer period, and political careers rarely began in earnest before men entered their forties.[80] Querini's early promotion may have been connected with the fact that he (like Bembo and Contarini) was drawn from one of the largest and most influential Venetian clans. Girolamo Priuli, as well as remarking on Querini's youth, makes it clear in his diary how this mission, ostensibly to console Philip on the death of his mother-in-law the Queen of Spain, and to congratulate him on his consequent inheritance of the kingdom of Spain, was also motivated by Venice's desire to mitigate the very poor opinion of Venice held by Philip and his father, the Emperor Maximilian.[81] Venice had been concerned to keep the Spanish king friendly in

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[78] Lepori (1976-86) 585, 591-92.

[79] 'Qua in re mihi quidem sapere Quirinus noster videtur, qui nihil mihi gratulatur de spe. Novit enim, homo mirus, et cum antea domi philosophus, tum peregre nuper multarum rerum scientiam adeptus, quam nos saepe temere illa detineat, quanque fallax atque incerta sit Dea...Quanquam etiam eo deteriore sum conditione quam tu, atque fato, quod vobis omnibus uno tempore careo, te Quirino, Gabrielibus, Teupolis, Iustiniano, Saorniano, Decanali [Canale] meo, quibus singulis nihil mihi est in vita charius, nihil iocundius.' *Lettere* I, no.242 (3 December 1506) 230-31.

[80] Finlay (1980) 139.

[81] Priuli (1937-8) vol. XXIV, part III, II, 365. Priuli notes that Querini was granted 150 ducats per month, 11 horses and 2 grooms ('staphieri'). He describes Querini as 'doctor, giovane de anni 26, ma discreto veramente et prudente'. *Ibid.*

order to prevent an anti-Venetian league of Julius II, Spain, and France since April, 1504. This was made more urgent after France and the empire concluded an accord at Blois in September, 1504 which was directed against Venice and Italy. Both France and the empire urged their own candidate's claim for the Spanish throne after the death of Isabella of Castile in November, 1504.[82] Querini travelled through the Burgundian Low Countries and England before reaching Castile, and returned to Venice in October, 1506.[83]

Querini joined the Emperor Maximilian at Strasbourg at the end of March 1505 and gave an address which was much admired by the audience. Shortly afterwards he met the twenty-eight year-old Philip 'the handsome' of Burgundy at Hagenau and accompanied him to Luxembourg. On the road Querini expressed his hope to Philip that the 'infidel' might be overthrown by the alliance with France - the crusading ideal had been dear to the Burgundian court in the fifteenth century.[84] After nine months in the Low Countries Querini embarked with Philip for England. However, a storm forced Querini's ship into Falmouth.[85] Having been stranded in Cornwall for two months Querini and the duke finally arrived in Castile in April, 1506, and soon afterwards Querini asked the *signoria* to provide him with the means to return to Venice.[86] In fact he remained in Spain for another three months and his dispatches are an acute record of

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[82] Seneca (1962) 60-73.

[83] ASV Senato secreta, reg. 40, f.68v records his election, *loc cit.* Luigi Firpo (ed.) *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 12 vols., (Turin, 1965-84) VIII, p.v. Mss of Querini's *relazione* of this mission (1506) in VBM Marc. Ital. VII 1261 (9572) ff.149-61. Also in the same library; Italiani, Classe VII cod.1129 (7452) 16th-century 'Vinc. Querini, registrum litterarum' of the mission to Philip of Burgundy (1504-06). Sanudo VI, coll. 112 (election); 306, 312, 313 (stranded in Cornwall); 438 (return to Venice on 5 October 1506). His dispatches were carefully translated into English (and sometimes partially transcribed) by Rawdon Brown: PRO 31/14/1, and have been printed by Constantin R. von Hoefler, 'Depeschen des Venetianischen Botschafters bei Erzherzog Philipp...Dr. Vincenzo Querini, 1505-06', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* LXVI (1885) 45-256. The first dispatch is dated 27 February 1505 (at Treviso), the last is dated 24 August 1506 (at Barcelona). The mss 'Anon. naufragium Petri Quirini' owned by Marin Sanudo at Latini, classe XIV cod.248 (4716) and 'Petro Querini, suo viaggio e naufragio' Marc. ital XI 110 (7238) refer to an incident in 1431 involving a different Pietro Querini. In VBQS IV 5 cart. misc. f.62 autograph copy of 'Spese fatte nell Ambasciata...a Massimiliano', and at f.73 letters to the Doge (1506-07). Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 495 inf. cart XVI letters of Querini to the Doge (1505-06). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Fondo Vaticano Latino Vat.lat. 5256 'Petr. Quirini naufragium'. For very brief summaries of Querini's diplomatic letters (1505-1506): Sanudo VI, coll. 114, 143, 151, 155, 168, 179, 192, 194, 209, 211, 217, 219, 233, 243, 247, 270, 293, 309, 331, 346, 351, 352, 357, 370, 373, 375, 377, 381, 387, 394.

[84] PRO 31/14/1, Strasbourg (26 March 1505) letter no.IX, 13; Hagenau (30 March 1505) letter no.XII, 23-24; Luxembourg (17 April 1505) letter no.XXVI, 57-59.

[85] *Ibid.* Falmouth (23 January 1506) letter no.CIX, 180-2; Falmouth, letter no.CXI, 183-5: 184 notes: '[I am] in a very wild place, where no human-being ever arrives in the midst of a most barbarous race, so different in language and customs from the inhabitants of London and the rest of England, that they understand each other as little as we do...' His judgement of the Cornish may have been coloured by the Cornish uprising a few years previously, and by the support given to Perkin Warbeck in Cornwall in 1497.

[86] *Ibid.* Corunna (26 April 1506) letter no.CXX, 197-99; Corunna (13 May 1506) letter no.CXXVIII, 209.

the rivalry between Philip of Burgundy, King of Castile, and Ferdinand of Aragon, for the control of the united crowns of Castile and Aragon. He followed the rising fortunes of Philip as the Castilian nobles supported his claim, and left Ferdinand without support. He also noted the erratic behaviour of the mentally unstable Juana, Queen of Castile, as well as Philip's own fondness for women. However, Querini clearly found the mission quite fatiguing and he complained about the mean accommodation with which he was provided - noting that some nobles were forced to sleep out of doors, that the country was rugged and barren, and even that his mules had died.[87] He once again asked to be allowed to return to Venice from 'wearisome Spain' where he found himself physically and financially drained.[88]

In his *relazione* of his mission Querini gave a mixed assessment of the young duke's character and appearance, noting that he supported justice and religion with all of his power. However, he also noted that he was too reliant upon the advice of his council and that he was slow and rather irresolute in executing his decisions. Querini was more impressed with his lands in Burgundy which he found populous, rich, and unified. He lavished particular attention on the quality of cloth production, tapestry work, and music in these lands. Above all, he was impressed with the conduct and appearance of the inhabitants, particularly the women, whom he found good-natured, good Christians, and modest both in conversation and dress. He observed that, besides their mercantile activities they found pleasure only in food and drink. They were paragons of virtue, lacking the extravagance, dishonesty, blasphemy, jealousy, hatred, and incredulity of faith to be found elsewhere.[89]

His brief visit to England, which he described as being very rich and great, did not give him more than a vague grasp of the island's geography. He noted that only when the tide was low could one walk to Scotland from England. In addition he considered Wales, 'Anglia', and Cornwall as forming the principal parts of the island of England. Nevertheless, he considered the English as a gentler people and more given to mercantile trade than the warlike Welsh and savage Cornish. He was less impressed by the inhabitants of Castile whom he found brutish, jealous, and apt to rise against their masters. However, despite their lack of formal study he conceded that they were endowed with a natural intelligence.

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[87] *Ibid.* Sanabria (17 June 1506) letter no.CXXXVI, 224-5.
[88] 'La boriosca Spagna' *Ibid.* Sanabria (21 June 1506) letter no.CXXXVIII, 227-31: 231.
[89] 'Vivono onestamente sì per le guardie che si fanno, come anche perchè le donne e uomini di questo paese sono frigidi, e lontani molto dalla lussuria, e più assai che alcuna altra nazione ch'io abbia veduto.' Eugenio Albèri (ed.), *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 15 vols., (Florence, 1839-63) ser.I, vol.I, 3-30: 14.

As well as his description of the machinery of government in Philip's lands he also gave some attention to the incomes of the monasteries in Burgundy, England, and Castile as well as the state of religion there. He found the monastic orders in Burgundy lax: 'The monks of these lands are not so reformed in their lives as they ought to be'.[90] He simply described the number of monasteries in England as well as their incomes. However, he praised the Castilian Inquisition's persecution of the 'marranos':

> ...the aforementioned King Ferdinand and Queen Elizabeth [i.e. Isabella] his consort deserve eternal praise from God and the world for this, if for nothing else: and this sect deserves to be destroyed, and deserves above all others to be hated and persecuted.[91]

He regarded this matter as one of particular importance there because he estimated that one third of all Castilians and other Spaniards were 'marranos', and that one third of these were citizens and merchants rather than the nobility or poor whom he considered true Christians. 'Marrano' was a used as a pejorative alternative to the term 'converso' in Venice by the end of the fifteenth century. It usually referred to Spanish or Portuguese Jews who had been converted to Christianity and lived outwardly as Christians, but who continued to believe in Judaism. 'Marranos' could also be suspected of unbelief rather than the secret practice of Judaism.[92] Querini clearly used the word in its pejorative sense here, and his assessment may have been affected by the evidence of a conspiracy of Jews throughout Spain, including nobles and clerics, which was faked by the Inquisition of Cordoba after 1501. This evidence and the subsequent 'reign of terror' were only disproved in 1508.[93]

His dispatches do not record any visits to Castilian or Burgundian monasteries, although his stay at Valladolid (7 July - 2 August 1506) brought him close to the Carmelite house at Medina del Campo, and he probably passed through the pilgrimage centre of Santiago de Compostela on his way from Corunna in April 1506. Nor does he mention the University of Alcalá or the project to produce a polyglot Bible (1502-1514). He does note that the Archbishop of Toledo, Franciso Cisneros de Ximenes, was incessantly urging war against the moors in Africa, and expended much of his own revenue on that enterprise.[94] A little later he noted that at Ximenes' urging, King Philip

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[90] '..e sono li monaci di questo paese non di vita così riformata come dovriano'. Vincenzo Quirini, 'Relazione di Borgogna con aggiunta di alcuni particolari intorno i regni d'Inghilterra e di Castiglia letta in pregadi da Vincenzo Quirini l'anno 1506' *ibid.* 11.

[91] '...il detto re Ferrando e la regina Elisabetta sua consorte meritano appresso Iddio ed il mondo, se non altro almanco per questo, eterna laude: e meritò a distruggere questa setta, che merita sopra ogn'altra essere odiata e perseguitata.' *Ibid.* 28-9.

[92] On this see Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Oxford, 1983) 170-1, and ch. 11.

[93] H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols., (New York, 1906-07) I, 190-211, 195.

[94] PRO 31/14/1, Valladolid (16 July 1506) letter no.CXLIV, 246-8.

was to send an army into Africa against Oran. Ximenes had lent him 50,000 ducats and paid for 6,000 infantry in order to let him do this.[95]

To his Castilian account must also be added his *relazione* of the Portuguese East Indies which he delivered with the *relazione* of his mission to Philip of Burgundy in October, 1506.[96] In a dispatch from Brussels in 1505 Querini wrote that he had often wished to give Venice a detailed account of the voyages of the Portuguese to India, as he had been in those parts (such as Antwerp) where their vessels often arrived. However, he did not trust the accounts of the Portuguese themselves as they were given to great exaggeration. He therefore took his information from an Italian friend who had left Lisbon a few months before and who had had an account from the Flemish and other foreigners there.[97] He noted in the *relazione* itself that while he was in Castile he had wished to obtain some information from some trustworthy people about the voyage to Calicut.

Querini could indeed have obtained his information from any of several Florentines who were living and trading in Lisbon or Antwerp[98], or from the reports of other Venetians such as the Venetian consul in Lisbon, Angelo Trevisan, the secretary to the Venetian ambassador in Madrid[99]; Leonardo da Ca' Masser, a Venetian spy in Portugal during 1504-06[100]; or Pietro Pasqualigo, extraordinary ambassador to Portugal and Spain during 1501-04 (whom he certainly met in 1507).[101] He might also have come into contact with Giovanni da Empoli, who was in Bruges sometime between ca.1504 and 1506, whose famous account of his voyages to India was published in 1550.[102]

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[95] *Ibid.* Valladolid (23 July 1506) letter no.CXLV, 249-50. On Ximenes' reforms, the 'crusade' to Africa, and currents of scholarship ca.1490-1514 see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne*. 3 vols., (Paris, 1937; facsimile reprint Geneva, 1991) I, ch. 1. In 1509 Ximenes himself entered Oran pronouncing from Psalm 115: 'Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam'. Bataillon (1937) I, 57.

[96] Alberì (1839-63) *Appendice*, 1-19; Sanudo VI, col.443 (10 October 1506).

[97] PRO 31/14/1, Brussels (7 November 1505) no.XCVI, 162.

[98] Giuseppe Canestrini, 'Intorno alle relazioni commerciali de' fiorentini co' Portoghesi avanti e dopo la scoperta del Capo di Buona Speranza', *ASI*, Appendice III (1846) 93-110: 104-07; Charles Verlinden, 'La colonie italienne de Lisbonne et le développement de l'économie métropolitaine et coloniale portugaise', *Studi in Onore di Armando Sapore*, 2 vols., (Milan, 1957) I, 615-28; J. A. van Houtte, 'Anvers aux XVe et XVIe siècles. Expansion et apogée', *Annales* 16 (1961) 248-78; Sanudo VI, coll. 55-7, 75-6, 86-8 (three letters of July-September 1501 concerning the Portuguese voyages to Calicut from Giovanni Francesco de Affaitadi, Cremonese banker and merchant in Lisbon, to the Venetian ambassador in Spain).

[99] According to Canestrini (1846) 103-04.

[100] His account of the voyages to Calicut between 1497 and 1506, and of Lisbon and the rest of Portugal, is printed in *ASI*, appendice II (1845) 7-51.

[101] Donald Weinstein, *Ambassador from Venice. Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon, 1501* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1960) describes his embassy and growing Venetian interest in Portugal as an ally against the Turks after 1500, and as a rival in the spice trade after 1501. Like Querini, Pasqualigo competed for the Rialto chair of philosophy and took a doctorate in philosophy and theology (at Paris) *Ibid.* 25.

[102] For the 1530 'Vita' of Da Empoli by Girolamo da Empoli, and for three letters (one to Antonio Pucci of 1519 or 1520) see *ASI*, appendice III (1846) 7-91; *DBI* 31: 635-40.

The probability that Querini received some of his information from Trevisan in particular is increased when it is considered that the latter was Querini's secretary on his missions to Philip of Burgundy and Maximilian.[103] While Trevisan was secretary to Domenico Pisani, the Venetian ambassador to Spain during 1500-02, he met Christopher Columbus and Pietro Martire d'Anghiera who allowed Trevisan to copy his Latin accounts of the voyages of Columbus into Venetian dialect to send to a friend in Venice. The recipient of these letters presented them to the Venetian senate and they were printed in 1504 as the first printed work about the voyages of Columbus.[104] He also requested a copy of a description of the voyage to Calicut which Querini may have used.[105]

In his *relazione* Querini carefully noted the number and disposition of the spice ships sent by the king of Portugal to the Indian coast. The king himself spent around 120,000 ducats in financing these ships, which were armed, for fifteen months and which carried 90 - 100,000 ducats of merchandise, silver, and money. These ships left Lisbon in March or April and navigated by compass, maps, and astrolabe, around the Cape of Good Hope before arriving at Mozambique, where the Portuguese had built a fortress, in July or August. The ships crossed the Indian Ocean and reached 'Anzidua' which Querini appears to have identified with one of the Laccadive Islands which lie off the west coast of India. At the end of September they finally reached Cochin and Cananore where they traded while one ship went on to Ceylon. Querini described how 'India minore' extended from the Persian Gulf to Malacca, on the Malay Archipelago and how within this region there were many kingdoms of 'Mori' and 'Gentili' (i.e. non-Christians) who worshipped many different Gods. Principal among these kingdoms was that of Calicut which was favourable to the kings of India and was the greatest enemy of the Portuguese. Querini carefully noted the distribution of spices and availability of spices in each of these kindoms. The Portuguese only traded with Cananore and Cochin and he gave the tariff of spices. The Portuguese made up two-thirds of their cargo with pepper, and one third with other spices, and set out for Lisbon in January.

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[103] Sanudo VI, coll.314-15.

[104] Pietro Martire d' Anghiera, *Libretto De tutta La Navigatione De Re De Spagna De Le Isole Et Terreni Novamente Trovati.* (Albertino Vercellese da Lisona: Venice, 10 April, 1504). [Facsimile edition with an introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth published in Paris, 1929]. On Trevisan, who seems only to have supplied the brief description of Columbus at sig. Aiir, see Wroth (1929) 5; *Letteratura Italiana. Gli autori.* 2 vols., (Turin, 1990-1) II, 1747.

[105] Trevisan wrote to Malipiero: '...aspettiamo de zorno in zorno da Lysbona el nostro doctore [Pisani's secretary, Matteo Cretico] [...] el quale a mia instantia ha facto un' opereta del viazo de Calicut, de la qual ne farò copia a la Magnificentia vostra [...]'. Quoted in Giuliano Lucchetta, 'Viaggiatori e Racconti di Viaggi nel Cinquecento', in *SCV* 3/II, 433-89: 434. Lucchetta suggests suggests that this work was a translation from the Portuguese of Pedro Alvares Cabral's log or diary.

Querini described the scenes of celebration on the return of the ships to Lisbon five months later. He noted that part of the tax levied on these imports was used to finance the building of a monastery in the city. However, the instability of prices in Lisbon until 1504 meant that many German and Flemish merchants had gone bankrupt so that there was a stockpile of unsold spices in the city warehouse. The king of Portugal had fortified several places on the coast of India in order to protect the spice trade from the 'Mori'. In his desire to fix prices he had also proclaimed that no foreign merchants should be allowed to export spices. However, Querini noted that while the pepper trade was secure from the 'Mori' nevertheless they had access to other spices. In addition, the profits from the trade were not sufficient to finance the spice ships and foreign merchants were reluctant to buy spices for fear that the king would let prices fall. The king of Portugal's position in India itself was also weak and his supply lines could easily be cut off by the local kings. The trade faced great danger from the death of the king of Portugal or from the 'Mori', particularly those of Mecca. He also noted that only 55 out of 114 ships which sailed between 1497 and 1506 had returned while as many as 40 were still missing in these, the most dangerous of seas.[106] However, by 1510 the Portuguese had won major victories over the local powers and had secured their spice route.

Having concluded his embassy with detailed and professional accounts of the lands of Burgundy, Spain, and England, and an up-beat account of the likely fortunes of the Portuguese spice trade, Querini was soon elected to another difficult embassy - to Emperor Maximilian. He was well aware of the threat posed to Venice by Maximilian, who coveted parts of its territory, and the possibility of a league of the other European powers, as he made clear in the *relazione* and dispatches of his mission to the emperor in the summer of 1507.[107] It is clear from Querini's dispatches that he found this

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[106] On the Portuguese voyages of exploration see G. V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed. The first European maritime empires c.1400-1650* (London, 1981) ch.5; C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London, 1969) especially chs. 2 & 3. On the impact of the Portuguese pepper trade on Venice and Europe see Ferdinand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, (trans.) S. Reynolds, 3 vols., (London, 1972; reprinted 1990) I, 543-49; Frederic C. Lane, 'The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Further Evidence of its Revival in the Sixteenth Century', in Brian Pullan (ed.) *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1968) ch.2; and Gino Luzzatto, 'La decadenza di Venezia dopo le scoperte geografiche nella tradizione e nella realtà', *Archivio Veneto* (5th series) LIV-V (1954) 162-81. Luzzatto argues for the recovery and continued commercial success of Venice after 1500.

[107] ASV, senato secreta, reg. 40, f.192r records his election, *loc. cit.* Firpo (1967-81) II, pp.vi-vii. His dispatches are found in BQS ms. IV, 5; apografi Correr, cod. Cicogna 2581, and BMV cod. Ital. VII, 989 (9581) ff.136. Sanudo VI, coll.457 (election on 23 October 1506), 548 (Querini leaves Venice 18 February 1507); VII, coll.188 (Querini returns to Venice 24 November 1507),191,193 (an account of Querini's *relazione*). Note also the anonymous verses describing the military ambitions of Maximilian *ibid.* coll.173-75. For summaries of Querini's dispatches from his embassy to Maximilian see Sanudo :VII, coll. 25, 37, 44, 45, 54, 59, 80, 84, 86, 95, 104, 106, 108, 111, 114, 115, 116, 120, 123, 124, 125, 126, 133, 134, 136, 139, 141, 144, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 158, 160, 163, 161, 165, 172, 173, 176, 177, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191 (*relazione*), 193 (*relazione*). For a very thorough

mission very difficult once again, although for different reasons.[108] He was also nominated ambassador to Naples, France, England, Hungary, the King of the Romans (twice), and Rome (thrice) between 1502 and October 1511.[109]

He was pressed by Maximilian to ask Venice to act in favour of the empire, rather than merely offering words of support. As preparations for a war against France over Milan got underway at the Diet of Constance, Querini found himself increasingly isolated as a representative of a power allied with, and favourable to, France. His life was made more difficult when Venice and France agreed to several accords. Anti-Venetian sentiment grew particularly strong among the German princes whom he described as squabbling over the division of the states of Italy amongst themselves.[110] In the face of Maximilian's demand that Venice must allow for the passage of his troops Querini was restricted by his government's instructions merely to urge the alliance of all powers in a crusade against the Turks. Querini was forced to go to Augsburg, far from Maximilan's court, until Venice had made its decision and he rejected any accusations that the Venetian senate was divided or irresolute.[111] Maximilian seemed ready to come into Italy throughout 1506 and 1507 in order to press his territorial claims and be crowned at Rome. France seemed to have drawn closer to Julius II, thus raising again the possibility of an anti-Venetian alliance to allow Julius to regain ecclesiastical lands seized by Venice in 1503 in the Romagna.[112]

By September 1507, enthusiasm for war had waned, and political attention transferred to Burgundy, Flanders, and the Milanese. To Querini there were three diplomatic options which seemed to be open: alliance with Maximilian against France; neutrality, with Maximilian's troops crossing Venetian territory; or open hostility to Maximilian. These options were deeply unsatisfactory considering the great hostility expressed by Maximilian and his court towards France, and the possibility of a hostile pope allying with Maximilian in order to reclaim land in the Romagna which had been seized by

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account of Querini's embassy to Maximilian see Mario Brunetti, 'Alla vigilia di Cambrai, la legazione di Vincenzo Querini all' imperatore Massimiliano', *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* 10 (1926) 1-108.

[108] Francesco Vettori, Florentine ambassador to Maximilian during 1507-09 later (ca. 1510-15) described his mission and noted Querini's presence at Constance with the other Italian ambassadors in the summer of 1507. He also related the story of Querini"s servant 'Polo' who caused a woman to die of grief after he had cheated and left her! Francesco Vettori, *Scritti storici e politici.* (ed.) E. Niccolini (Bari, 1972) 56, 97-99.

[109] Sanudo IV, col.293 (King of the Romans); VI, coll.441 (Naples), 456 (France), (Rome) 515; VII, col.361; VIII, col.515 (King of the Romans); IX, coll.121 (Hungary), 469 (England); XIII, col.124 (Rome).

[110] Brunetti (1926) 28, 38-9.

[111] *Ibid* 63ff. Querini stated: 'La Repubblica non era mai divisa fra se, ma sempre tutta concorde e d' un solo volere al benefitio comune; et se, qualche volta, apparevano varie opinioni et mutation de le deliberation facte, tal' era per la diversità delle materie et per le occurentie dei tempi, che sempre portano cum si cose nove et non per discordie che fusseno in quel Senato'. Quoted *ibid.* 93.

[112] Seneca (1962) ch. III.

Venice. Against Maximilian's proposal for an anti-French alliance of Venice, Julius II, and Maximilian, Querini proposed an alliance against the Turks consisting of France, the empire, Venice, and the pope. The Prince of Bamberg, considering this proposal, retorted that no crusade was desirable because: 'it is first highly necessary to crush the pride of the French, because otherwise it is not possible to do any good...'[113] However, Querini realized that even the support of Henry VII of England, and of the king of Portugal for such a crusade could not shake the prejudices of the emperor.[114]

In this realization he was joined by the papal legate Cardinal Carvajal. Carvajal had come fresh from attending the *addottoramento* of Niccolò Tiepolo in Rome. He praised Venice as excelling all other states in justice, religion, and doctrine. Carvajal added that he had personal experience of Venetian excellence in religion and literature having known some of the best writers in Venice, including Tiepolo.[115] Carvajal regretted not persuading Maximilian to give up his plans for war in Italy, and lead a crusade.[116] In the following year Carvajal gave a homily before Maximilian and the young Duke of Burgundy (later Charles V) in which he urged the necessity of fighting the Muslims. He based his assertion on the interpretation of scripture (particularly the Apocalypse), the example of the recent discovery of new lands, as well as on the evidence of heavenly signs. His crusade strategy shows some similarities to that later proposed by the hermits and is a further indication of the enduring popularity of the crusading ideal in sixteenth-century Europe.[117] Angelo Trevisan, Querini's secretary, considered Carvajal too partial to the Germans 'perhaps because he aspires to the papacy'.[118] When Venice's refusal to allow imperial troops transit became known, Lichtenstein told Querini that Maximilian now considered Venice a potential enemy, and that the Venetian should leave Germany.[119]

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[113] '...l'è summamente necessario abbassar prima l'orgoglio de'Francesi, perchè altramente non è possibile che se potesse far alcuna opera buona...' Brunetti (1926) 44. Lichtenstein made the same point.

[114] *Ibid.* 47-49.

[115] *Ibid.* 86-87.

[116] *Ibid.* 83, 86, 96.

[117] Nelson H. Minnich, 'The Role of Prophecy in the Career of the Enigmatic Bernardino López de Carvajal', in Marjorie Reeves (ed.) *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period* (Oxford, 1992) ch.6. Norman Housley has argued that the idea of a crusade and the military and propaganda activity associated with it, should be taken seriously as an important factor in European politics. He notes that the emergence of credible candidates to lead a crusade against the Turks, together with overseas expansion fuelled hopes for a crusade which would be the fulfilment of a prophetic timetable. See his *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar.* (Oxford, 1992) chs. 4 & 13, esp. 384-92. See also below, ch. 4.

[118] '...forse per ambition del Papato, troppo partiale'. Quoted in Brunetti (1926) 95.

[119] On German hostility towards Venice see Lewis Jillings, 'The Eagle and the Frog: Hutten's polemic against Venice', *Renaissance Studies* 2/1 (1988) 14-26. On Maximilian and the Diet of Constance (1507) see Herman Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I; das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit.* 5 vols., (Munich: 1971-86) IV *passim.* On Maximilian's political and diplomatic involvement with Venice during 1508-11 see A. Bonardi, 'Venezia, città libera dell'impero

In the *relazione* of this mission he noted the cordial dislike of the princes of the empire towards the free lands, republics and communes of the world, including Venice. He added that Maximilian had no other desire than to acquire lands, and to go into Burgundy or Italy to do so.[120] However, he suggested that Maximilian disapproved of the princes' malicious comments about Venice, and their desire to lead an army against Venice to reclaim imperial lands:

> ...and they are all united; they wish, except for the king, to assemble the army, and without making any gesture, to pass by his lands by force, not being able to otherwise; and many of the princes use bad and dishonest words against this most excellent state...saying that perhaps it would be good for them to accept those honourable parts offered by France, and direct the army against the Venetians, who hold in usurpation so many and such beautiful things of the Empire. Nor is there anyone among the princes, except for the king, who say that it is dishonest to go against this Republic that never stood against the honour of Germany...[121]

Querini advised that it would be well for Venice to follow France's example and cultivate some allies among the princes, particularly as even the free lands would not be inclined to impede an army directed against Venice. He recognized that Venice had been placed in an awkward situation when the emperor had requested that his troops be allowed to pass through Venetian territory in order to move against the French. Venetian inaction on this matter had led Maximilian to suspect that Venice did not wish to be his ally, and indeed Venice had been secretly negotiating with the French.[122] As a result, Maximilian might listen to his advisers and accept a French offer for the settlement of the question of Milan, and then turn his army against Venice.[123] Having outlined the wealth and power of the princes Querini can have left the Venetian Senate in little doubt of the seriousness of this threat which was checked by Maximilian's

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nell'immaginazione di Massimiliano I d'Asburgo', *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Padova* n.s. XXXI (1917) 127-47. For a study of the importance of economic relations and political comparisons between Nuremburg and Venice see Alexander Cowan, 'Venice and Nuremberg: systems of government ca. 1500', *Bulletin for the Society of Renaissance Studies* 4/2 (Oct. 1986-June 1987) 30-39.

120 '...perchè il re al presente non cerca altro che far faccende, acquistar paesi, e discender contra Francia in Borgogna ovvero in Italia per acquistar nuovi stati che sono dell'Imperio.' Albèri (1839-63) ser. 1, vol. 6, 33-4.

121 '...e tutti unitamente; eccetto il re, voleano radunar l'esercito, e senza farlene motto, passar per il suo paese per forza, non potendo altramente; e molti dei principi usareno male e disoneste parole contra questo eccellentissimo Stato...dicendo che forse buono saria per loro accettar quegli onorati partiti che offeriva Francia, e drizzar l'esercito contra Veneziani, che tengono usurpate tante e si belle cose dell' Imperio. Nè tra tutti i principi si ritrovò altri che il re solo che dicesse non esser onesto andar contra questa Repubblica che mai non è stata contra l'onor di Germania, e lasciar stare i Francesi che altro non cercano che rovinarla, e che meglio era veder per ultima conclusione la risoluzione della Sublimità Vostra, e poi determinar quanto parerà più espediente...' *Ibid.* 37-8. See also *ibid.* 43-4.

122 *Ibid.* 46-50.

123 *Ibid.* 55-7. Querini here speculates on the possible routes such an army might take into Venetian territory.

defeat by Venice in February, 1508. Contarini was to find himself in a very similar position thirteen years later.

Querini's precocious involvement in the high offices of state, his association with philosophy and Greek studies, his poetry, and his growing fame give very little immediate indication of underlying spiritual concerns. However, his dispatches and *relazioni* do reveal his growing concern for Christian morality and monasticism. Hitherto these have not be considered as evidence of Venetian religious sentiment. In fact, Querini's experiences in northern Europe also marked his view of the necessity for religious reform and the hermits' *Libellus ad Leonem X* expressed an admiration for the quality of German priests which was contrasted with the poor state of their Italian counterparts. The hermits also noted in this work that while Querini had been in Spain he had learnt of the way the pagans of the newly discovered lands were being converted by preachers conversant in their language.[124] By turning to Querini's private letters, many of them addressed to Contarini, it becomes clear that his interest in monasticism was longstanding and that his withdrawal from a highly distinguished political career was not primarily motivated by the trauma of the Turkish war (1499-1503), or of Agnadello (1509).

Querini's wish to reconcile the contemplative life with the active life, or to embrace the contemplative life fully as a monk or hermit was supported by his friend Giustiniani from at least 1500 onwards. Querini expressed his deepest feelings about the conflict of contemplation and action to Contarini in a remarkable series of letters. These letters shed more light on Contarini's own, well-known, spiritual crisis. Like Querini, Contarini attempted to understand and accept the love of God expressed through Christ's suffering. He attempted to find a means to lead a fully Christian life, one which accepted the love of God in a spiritual and material way, in the secular world. Querini and Contarini shared a devotion to the Eucharist which was strikingly physical and immediate. They both undertook difficult and uncomfortable diplomatic missions which tested their spirituality. Querini finally decided to abandon the world of action for that of religious conviction and contemplation. Contarini decided to reconcile action with conviction. However, Querini's withdrawal from the world was never fully achieved and he died complaining of the secular 'traps' in which he found himself. Contarini's 'middle way' was much more successful in the decade or so after Querini's death. His firm convictions that a man could be religious in the world and that political life could be based on Christian principles were expressed in works such as *De officio episcopi* (1517) and *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* (1523-33). In order to understand

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[124] *AC* IX, coll.697, 626.

how Contarini reached this eqilibrium of religion and politics it is first necessary to understand his relationship with Querini, and to understand how relevant Querini's spiritual struggle was to his own.

Chapter 2

The Active and Contemplative Life in the Letters of Querini and Contarini

i. '...more easily to pursue the salvation of our souls...' Querini, Giustiniani, and the monastic life.

Tommaso Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini did not find the decision to withdraw from the world a particularly easy one, and they at first wished to enter Camaldoli without taking vows. There does not seem to be any particular precedent for this at Camaldoli, although noblemen such as Pietro Bembo and Giuliano de' Medici planned similar sojourns in monasteries at Camaldoli or elsewhere, and the convents of Venice were frequently visited by men, although for less pious purposes.[1] Petrarch, whose brother was a monk, wrote in his *De otio religioso* that he did not view monastic life as separate from the secular so much as a safer and more fully religious way. He noted that monastic life brought problems as well as rewards and he may well have been suggesting in this work that the non-religious man (i.e. layman) could still be religious. In addition, his *De vita solitaria* was concerned with release from worldly concerns for the sake of peace of soul, and literary activity. This, 'the humanists' claim to the field of moral philosophy'[2] is given some weight in Erasmus' expression of interiorized spirituality in his *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (written 1501, published 1503). However, even there he stated: 'Monasticism is not piety but a way of living, either useful or useless in proportion to one's moral and physical disposition'.[3]

The Aristotelian supremacy of the life of wisdom was increasingly under challenge during the fifteenth century and many writers emphasized that a life of wisdom must include prudent action as well as contemplation. Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) rated contemplation higher than action but nevertheless he believed that on earth man is destined for action. In his *Quaestiones Camaldulenses* (ca. 1475) Cristoforo Landino reasserted the primacy of contemplation (now with reference to Plato and neo-Platonic

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[1] See below, pp. 44-6, 77-8. The information about Venetian convents comes from an unpublished paper read by Mary Laven to the Venetian History Seminar at St John's College, Cambridge (May, 1997). It forms part of the findings presented in her doctoral thesis. Further research is needed to establish how common such monastic sojourns were. Thomas More for example may have lived in the Charterhouse of London between 1501 and 1505 without taking vows.

[2] Charles Trinkaus, 'Humanist Treatises on the Status of the Religious: Petrarch, Salutati, Valla', *Studies in the Renaissance* XI (1964) 7-45: 45. This article is reprinted with slight modifications in *idem, In Our Image and Likeness. Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought.* 2 vols., (London, 1970) II, ch. XIV.

[3] 'Monachatus non est pietas, sed vitae genus pro suo cuique corporis ingeniique habitu, vel utile, vel inutile. Ad quod equidem ut te non adhortor, ita ne dehortor quidem'. Quoted in Trinkaus (1964) 45.

poetic theology) although he justified it as the basis for action (as in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*). Like Petrarch, he valued Cicero more for his immortal words and for his abandonment of politics than for his civic action.

However, Petrarch and Alamanno Rinuccini (1426-1504) found it difficult to reconcile a life of pure contemplation (eg. as a scholarly monk) with the active life. How were Plato's wise rulers to remain uncorrupted by the mass of people ? St Augustine's city of God could not be reconciled or united easily with the city of Man. Marsilio Ficino employed *pia philosophia* to grasp the one *logos* underlying all philosophies and religion. This is the true religion or *docta religio* which Querini and Giustiniani seem to struggle towards. The language of some of Querini's letters seems to echo Ficino's description:

> One cannot see the sun without the sun and cannot hear the air without the air; but the eye filled with light can see the light and the sun, and the ear filled with air can hear the vibrations of the air; even so it is impossible to recognize God without knowing God already. But the soul that is filled with God not only ascends to God but also, being illuminated by the divine light, can recognize God; and, set ablaze by the divine flame, thirsts for God...[4]

Detaching the world from divine roots would therefore amount to heresy and while Querini and Contarini both agreed on the importance of uniting the two parts, they disagreed on the means to do so. Querini was inclined to use poetry and the study of the Hebrew Song of Songs in order to unlock his love of God, and like Pico he may have been tempted by the cabbala as a philological tool with which to draw out the truth of Scripture. Contarini was true to a Thomist Aristotelianism which emphasized the validity of civil life. However, it became clear in the *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513) that if the Church was the mystical body of Christ through which flowed wisdom, Grace, and spiritual power then Querini's love of Christ entailed his membership in it and his efforts to restore it to unity after it had suffered like Christ.

Both Querini and Contarini expressed their feelings of love for Christ and God which Ficino believed drew out man's essence. However, Contarini had the greatest difficulty in accepting the concept of his 'bassezza' which often provoked him to melancholy and despair. This acute feeling of inability to 'ascend' led him to feel inadequate whenever he read scripture. His love of mathematics and the pagan philosophers was a symptom (as he saw it) of his inability to approach the divine. The constant theme of the letters is therefore his attempt to accept his love of 'studii humani', to feel capable of reading

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[4] Quoted in Eugenio Garin, *Italian Humanism: philosophy and civic life in the Renaissance*. (trans.) Peter Munz (Oxford, 1965) 94.

scripture, and to feel worthy of God's love in his awareness of his base condition and secular concerns. Certainly, one recent study views Giustiniani's decision to become a hermit as the culmination of Renaissance neo-Platonism and lay religious life.[5] There may have been a general trend towards monastic withdrawal during the half century after 1480. The fifteenth-century papacy was involved in encouraging the new and reformed monastic orders. Eremitical orders were increasingly popular during this century and most were concentrated in the March or Umbrian and Tuscan regions where a large proportion of thirteenth-century Franciscan foundations had been made.[6] The Benedictine congregation in northern Italy certainly witnessed an increasing number of professions, drawn particularly from humanist patricians.[7]

At the beginning of the eleventh century S. Romuald of Ravenna constructed a chapel and a group of cells in the cold and isolated spot at Camaldoli, high in the Appenines. Within two centuries Camaldoli had acquired a church and hospice and was populated by 300 monks. Unusually, its extensive patrimony and lordship were maintained up to the sixteenth century.[8] By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Camaldolese monastery of S. Michele in Isola on Murano was growing in fame and attracting other monasteries to its protection. The gulf between the Camaldolese monasteries at Camaldoli and Murano grew wider after the death in 1499 of Don Bernardino Gadolo, Delfin's vicar at S. Michele. In defence of their autonomy the monks of Murano appealed to the Venetian patriciate. Consequently, in 1500 Doge Barbarigo charged Marino Zorzi, ambassador in Rome, with seeking papal protection for S. Michele against the General, and the Tuscan Camaldolese who were being badly administered at this time. Giustiniani and Canale stayed at S. Michele in 1508, but they chose Camaldoli perhaps because of its isolation from all Venetian affairs, because it offered greater scope for reform - they certainly sought to heal the division between the two houses - or because of the intellectual and spiritual reputation of one of its eleventh

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[5] Eugenio Massa, *L'Eremo, la Bibbia e il medioevo in umanisti veneti del primo Cinquecento* (Naples, 1992) 106.

[6] Gabriella Zarri, 'Aspetti dello sviluppo degli Ordini religiosi in Italia tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Studi e problemi', in Paolo Prodi and P. Johanek (eds.) *Strutture ecclesiastiche in Italia e in Germania prima della Riforma* (Bologna, 1984) 205-57.

[7] Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars* (Oxford, 1985) 9.

[8] P. J. Jones, 'A Tuscan Monastic Lordship in the Later Middle Ages: Camaldoli', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* V (1954) 168-83. The Florentine tax-surveyors noted in 1427 that Camaldoli was 'aspro e salvaticho' and that the monks were obliged to spend a good deal of money to protect their dwellings against the severe snows of winter: *ibid.* 169, 181 n.2. The library at Camaldoli was catalogued in 1406. The content and structure of the catalogue reveals how the theology of the monks was heavily influenced by 'ascent' theories and the importance of the solitary life. It has also been analysed in order to show how the cenobites and hermits could co-exist and how liturgical and sacerdotal functions could play some part in their co-existence. See M. Elena Magheri Cataluccio and A. Ugo Fossa, *Biblioteca e Cultura a Camaldoli: dal medioevo all' umanesimo* (Rome, 1979), especially ch. III.

century inhabitants - Peter Damian, whose works Giustiniani later edited.[9] Delfin viewed the arrival of the Venetians as a victory over Murano and he wrote to the monks exultantly, claiming to be a better fisherman than they were.[10]

Giustiniani later gave the impression of having led a very solitary life at Padua between 1493 and 1504, although he had certainly met Querini by the year 1500 and seems to have formed a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. Giustiniani wrote: 'I lived in the city of Padua in the public schools in a pretty private and solitary way, giving quite a lot of my time to studies...'[11] In 1504 he sought solitude in the mountains above Vicenza, whence he wrote to Querini [12], before retiring to Murano. He later wrote of this period:

> Previously, in order to devote myself to studies, I had divided my inheritance with my brothers, and had given my portion to the aforementioned husband of my sister to administer. But then, fleeing the way of life in my own part of the country which was less pleasing to me, I lived sometimes in the country, and sometimes in a house which I owned in the outskirts of the city, and I lived there until I was thirty-four known by few, I myself knowing even fewer people.[13]

In his spiritual diary for 1506, Giustiniani referred to Paolo Canale as his sole visitor that August.[14] The two Venetians spent: 'many hours in vain and foolish conversations' and their study of the Psalms was neglected, as well as their 'daily thoughts on the love of God'.[15] It is also possible that Querini visited Giustiniani on Murano as there exists a translation of, and commentary upon the *Cantici canticorum* which was composed by Querini there in June 1507 according to a manuscript annotation.[16] In that year Giustiniani went to the Holy Land in order to look for a

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[9] B. Paolo Giustiniani, *Trattati, lettere e frammenti dai manoscritti originali dell'Archivio dei Camaldolesi di Monte Corona nell'eremo di Frascati*, (ed.) Eugenio Massa 2 vols., (Rome, 1967, 1974) I, 331-444.

[10] P. Vittorino Meneghin O.F.M., *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia* 2 vols., (Venice, 1962) I, 55-63.

[11] 'in Paduana civitate in...publicis scolis satis private et solitarie et mediocriter studiis vacans,...vixi'. Quoted in Eugenio Massa, 'Gasparo Contarini e gli amici, fra Venezia e Camaldoli', in *Gaspare Contarini e il suo tempo: atti convegno di studio*, (ed.) Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli (Venice, 1988) 39-91: 48.

[12] 'Da casa di montagna': *TLF* I, 149.

[13] 'Nam antea, vacandi studiis gratia, patrimonium com fratribus diviseram portionemque meam sororis prefate marito gubernandam commiseram. Patrie tamen mores, qui mihi minus placebant, fugiens, vel ruri [...] aliquando vel in suburbana, que mihi contigerat, domo [...], a paucis cognitus pauciores ego cognoscens, magis quam antea solitarie...vixi usque ad XXXIVmo aetatis meae annum [...]' Quoted *ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* II, 1-167.

[15] 'molte ore...in vane e folli conversazioni...' ; '...pensate quotidiane sull'amor di Dio'. *Ibid.* 15, 20ff.

[16] 'Cantici canticorum nova iuxta hebraicam veritatem translatio a vulgata traslatione [sic] valde diversa'. This work is dated 'MDVII VII Cal. Jun. Murani' and is held in the Monastery of Monte Corona, Frascati: 'Opere del P.P.Quirini no.II Opuscoli'. Cited in Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*,5 vols., (Leiden and London, 1963-90) I, 237. Querini left Venice on 18 February 1507 for Germany:

monastery or hermitage in which to settle with Querini. However, he found conditions there unsatisfactory and soon returned to Venice. In 1508 he spent Holy Week with Canale in the Camaldolese abbey of San Michele in Isola on Murano. Similarly, Querini and Contarini later spent Holy Week together at the Benedictine church of San Giorgio Maggiore in 1511.

In the meantime Giustiniani wrote to Querini and Tiepolo describing the Venetian lagoon as a place where public offices were distributed according to one's connections. He contrasted the pleasure of the parties and the constant jockeying for power and place with the scornful and serene liberty of the individual.[17] Therefore, during the summer of 1510, Giustiniani, Querini, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, Niccolò Tiepolo[18], and Contarini sojourned far from the temptations of the city and safe from a new bout of plague, at Montello, near Piave.[19] In practice, before 1510 Giustiniani was clearly the most committed of the circle of friends to the ideal of the solitary and contemplative life. Querini and Canale were no less committed to the ideal in theory, but continued to pursue their political and literary interests. Contarini, who had left Padua in 1509, had probably faced the choice between action and contemplation by the time he joined his friends at Montello. In 1508 he reached usual age of entry to the Great Council, and may have attended some of the meetings there after he left Padua. Moreover, he seems to have been among the troops sent to recapture Padua in September 1509.[20]

Twenty-six letters written by Vincenzo Querini between 1507 and 1514 to various correspondents, but principally Tommaso Giustiniani, were reprinted in the eighteenth century from manuscripts held at the monastery of Monte Corona, Frascati, where Giustiniani had brought them in 1520.[21] These letters provide a vivid picture of the choices facing Querini and his friends during this period. It appears that Giustiniani also requested copies of many letters he had written to Tiepolo and Contarini during the first

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Sanudo VI, col.548. Nevertheless, the work may be dated to 26 December 1507 if 'Jun' is interepreted as a 'Jan', and the year is calculated *modo veneziano*.

17 Massa (1988b) 53.

18 Giustiniani and Tiepolo had met at Padua by March, 1502: Elda Martellozzo Forin (ed.) *Acta Graduum Academicorum ab anno 1501 ad annum 1525* (Padua, 1969) 45, no.119. For Cardinal Carvajal's praise of Tiepolo's learning in 1507, proudly reported by Querini, see Mario Brunetti, 'Alla vigilia di Cambrai: La legazione di Vincenzo Querini all'Imperatore Massimiliano', *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* 10 (1926) 1-108: 86-87. Pietro Bembo wrote from Rome to Lucrezia Borgia: 'M. Nicolò Tiepolo, buon servitore di Vostra Eccellenza, ha sostenute le sue conclusioni questi dì passati sì onoratamente, quanto nessuno altro facesse giamai in Roma. Ebbe 17 Cardinali Auditori, e fu miracolo che in questo tempo così sinistro e ardente ve n'andassero due o tre: ha dato esperimento d'essere il più valente disputante e filosofo che per aventura in Italia oggidì sia. Oggi il Papa di sua mano gli ha dato il grado del Dottorato con molta commendazione'. Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*. 4 vols., in progress (Rome, 1987-) I, no.237 (6 July 1506).

19 Massa (1988b) 49-50: 62.

20 Sanudo IX, coll. 146, 204-10.

21 G. B. Mittarelli and D. Anselm Costadono (eds.) *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. 9 vols., (Venice, 1755-73; facsimile reprint Farnborough, 1970) IX, coll. 446-588.

year of his withdrawal, but he only received a few. He was concerned to collect these letters in order to write the lives of his friends, and from 1518 he gathered the various manuscripts in his possession into several codices,[22] which have been described by Professor Eugenio Massa.[23] In addition, Professors Nelson Minnich and Elisabeth Gleason have recently edited a previously unknown and significant letter of Querini of 1512.[24] Taken together, these letters shed important light on Contarini's spiritual development as described in his letters, and they also place Querini in a more central role as Contarini's friend and mentor, as the many echoes in language and belief found in Contarini's letters testify. Contarini's crucial early years have long been interpreted through the personality and writings of his older friend Giustiniani. In the absence of his friend from the summer of 1510 onwards it is clear that Contarini increasingly relied upon Querini (four years his senior) as a friend and mentor, particularly as his relations with Giustiniani became strained by the awareness of his inability to lead a solitary life dedicated to the contemplation of God.

In some ways Contarini was the exception among his friends with regard to literary matters and the *Compagnia degli Amici* which was formed by Pietro Bembo, Querini, Trifone Gabriele, and Niccolò Tiepolo. Only one piece of poetry has been ascribed to him[25], and he is named neither in the *Compagnia* nor in Bembo's letter of 1506. It is possible that Contarini's relative youth and residency in Padua placed him on the fringes of a group whose interests were increasingly international. Significantly, it is only after 1509 that Contarini features prominently in the surviving correspondence of the friends. In 1511 Bembo mentioned Contarini in a letter to Giustiniani which also referred to 'M.Vincenzo [Querini], M.Zuan Aurelio [Augurelli], [Andrea] Navaier, [Lorenzo, 'el gobeto'] Valier, and [Zorzi] Emo'.[26]

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[22] *TLF* I, 27.

[23] *Ibid.* Until Professor Massa completes the publication of his *Carteggio eremitico* or he grants access to these manuscripts to scholars, there are several of his studies, principally concerned with Giustiniani, to which one can turn: 'Paolo Giustiniani e Gasparo Contarini: la vocazione al bivio del neo-platonismo e della teologica biblica', *Benedictina* 35 (1988) 429-474; *idem* (1988b); J. Leclerq, *Un humaniste ermite: le bienheureux Paul Giustinani (1476-1528)* (Rome, 1951).

[24] Elisabeth G. Gleason and Nelson H. Minnich, 'Vocational Choices: An Unknown letter of Pietro Querini to Gasparo Contarini and Niccolò Tiepolo (April, 1512)', *Catholic Historical Review* LXXV (1989) 1-20. This letter was found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi L. III. 60: Raccolta di Diverse Scritture Minute, Entry No. 43, ff. 79r-80r. Professors Gleason and Minnich note two other unpublished letters from Querini to Contarini and Tiepolo which are registered in the Frascati archives: *TLF* I, 131, no.64; 149, no.173. The latter is an incomplete draft of the former dated 25 February 1512. For forty-four other unpublished letters written by Querini to various correspondents see *ibid.* The locations of these manuscripts are F II BIS: no.s 2-6, 8-10, 16, 21-23, 25-28, 30-31, 35, 37, 39, 42-44, 48-52, 53, 54, 57-59, 60-62, 64, 67-70, 198, 199; FIV no. 4. Querini's works were principally collected in F I QUIR and Q II QUIR. I have considered these manuscripts in the light of the decriptions, incipits, and addressees which are given in *TLF* I, *passim.*

[25] Kristeller (1963-90) VI, 133.

[26] Letter of 30 August 1511 quoted in Massa (1988b) 61-2. 'El Gobeto' may be translated as 'little hunchback'.

Contarini and Querini certainly met at least as early as August 1503 when they, together with Antonio Surian (later Venetian ambassador to Rome and Florence) were witnesses of Andrea Mocenigo's public examination for his doctorate at Padua.[27] Contarini, who was taught by Marc'Antonio Sabellico at the Rialto school, studied Latin, Greek, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy at Padua between 1501 and 1509. His masters there included Marcus Musurus and Pietro Pomponazzi, the famous natural philosopher whose work on the immortality of the soul provoked a work by Contarini rebutting his Averroist position.[28] The similarities between Querini and Giustiniani should therefore not obscure the fact that the two men also had different interests and arrived at their spirituality at different times or by slightly different routes.

Querini's interest in spiritual matters dates from at least 1500. Giustiniani's first letter to Querini was written in 1503 and mentioned a dialogue which he had obtained from the visiting General of the Augustinian Hermits, Egidio of Viterbo.[29] This probably referred to Pontano's dialogue *Aegidius* (composed by 1501, first published in 1507)[30] which was dedicated to Egidio of Viterbo and dealt with philosophy, religion, and poetry. Pontano met Egidio at Naples at the beginning of the 1490's. They were both interested in free will and this work considers that problem in relation to astrology. In it, Pontano discussed the veracity of dreams, creation, redemption, and the immortality of the soul. Pontano believed that scientific studies, particularly of the arabo-judaic sort, encouraged irreligiosity and the denial of the immortality of the soul. He discussed Christian presages in classical works and considered whether scripture could be rationally analysed. Pontano distinguished between the puerile lies of pseudo-astrologers concerning prophecy, and the acceptable propositions of astrological science. True astrology, in his opinion, did not detract from a Thomist view of free will.[31] The Venetians' early contact with Egidio throws a fascinating new light on the

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[27] Bruno Nardi, *Saggi sull'Aristotelismo Padovano* (Venice, 1958) 167-68. However, only Contarini and Surian are recorded on this occasion in Martellozzo Forin (1969) 83-84, no.247. On Surian see Angelo Ventura (ed.) *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato* 2 vols., (Rome, 1976) introduction. Andrea Mocenigo was later an historian of the war of the League of Cambrai.

[28] On Contarini's presence at Padua see Martelozzo Forin (1969) III, part I, 49, 84, 103, 154. On Contarini's education see Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità* (Florence, 1988) 1-6.

[29] 'Dialogum quem ab Egidio Heremita altera die, cum ad eum viscendum una acesimus, habuisti'. Letter of 21 March 1503 in *TLF* I, 65. Egidio's presence in Venice in 1503 is indicated by Sanudo V, col.796.

[30] G. Pontano, *I dialoghi* (ed.) C. Previtera (Florence, 1943) 243-84. Perhaps the Venetians came to know of the work and Egidio through Aldus Manutius to whom Pontano sent a number of poems for publication in 1502. Carol Kidwell, *Pontano: poet and prime minister* (London, 1991) 300; or through Pietro Bembo to whom Pontano dedicated book 7 of his *De rebus coelestibus* (1488).

[31] Umberto Renda, *Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503)* (Turin, 1939) 54-55.

affinities between their thought and writings and those of Egidio who has hitherto been regarded as a relatively marginal figure in Church reform.[32]

There are seven other letters written during 1503-07 which are unpublished and remain in the Frascati archives.[33] Giustiniani's introduction to the codex of Querini's works which he collected consists of a short description of Querini's life, and records their friendship during their youth and at the University of Padua, as well as their interest in the study of literature.[34] Giustiniani recalled that as early as October, 1501 the two men had promised to be chaste[35], and in a letter of 1507 Querini sought to reconcile chastity with civil life. Giustiniani added that they had divided the world between themselves: one to explore the eastern monasteries, the other to look west. He wrote:

> I recall that in order to live the solitary life that having searched a great part of Italy, almost all of Dalmatia, the greater part of Greece, and having passed through Syria, and seen many hermitages, many solitary places, and different kinds of solitaries...I went through the Levant, he [...] went west [through] all of Germany, France, Spain, Burgundy, and part of England, although busy with other matters, but not without this thought.[36]

Giustiniani was later to remark that Querini '...has known the business of the world more than any of you [i.e. Egnazio, Niccolò Tiepolo, Contarini, and their friends] have tasted, and he has fully known its bitterness...'[37] Querini (Giustiniani continued) had long harboured other desires in his soul despite his involvement in the world. He and Giustiniani had studied scripture at Padua not for the sake of knowledge or for glory, but simply in order to be able to act in a Christian fashion, and so that they could reach heaven.

> In this way I can honestly say that three or perhaps four years have passed during which Querini, although living among you as regards his exterior, had, as regards the interior of his soul, been living with a settled and firm

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[32] See below, ch. 4.

[33] These are listed in *TLF* I, 60 (Padua, 22 November 1504), 62 (end of 1504), 149 ('Da casa di montagna', end of 1504/beginning of 1505), 60 ('Ex Cuculano', 28 August 1505), and 64-65 (three letters of Oct.1506-Feb.1507).

[34] '...tutti doi patricii venetiani, tutti doi ai studi de le lettere dediti, forno fina dala tenera etade singular[mente] amici et ne li studii patavini, ove molti anni vissero, individui compagni'. Introduction to cod. F II BIS reprinted in *TLF* I, 119-20: 119.

[35] See the timetable drawn up by Giustiniani after Querini's death which records the stages of their promises or 'vows': *AC* VII, 435-36.

[36] 'Mi ricorda, per menar vita solitaria, haver cerchata una gran parte de Italia, quasi tutta la Dalmatia, la magior parte de la Grecia et esser passato in la Siria, et haver veduti molti eremi, molte solitudine et diversi modi de solitarii...lo...cerchai per Levante molti paese, egli [..] per Ponente trascorse, benché altra causa havessi ma non senza questo pensiero, tutta la Germania, la Franza, la Spagna, la Borgonia et parte de l'Ingiltera'. Quoted in Massa (1988b) 57-58.

[37] 'le cose del Mondo in ogni cosa più, che alcuni di voi avendo gustate, e l'amarezza di quelle apertamente conosciuta...' *AC* IX, col. 555.

> mind in the monastic habit and way of life ['conversazione'], or not far from it, and he is dedicated to being among the monks themselves...[38]

Giustiniani emphasized the long discussions he had had with Querini about this subject:

> All that I tell you, and much else besides which demonstrates this more effectively, that our good Querini's decision and desire to abandon the world, was not new, nor badly thought out, nor precipitate in any way, nor was it caused by any earthly occurrence, as many foolish people think, but only by a true understanding of the vanity of the world, and by a sincere love of Jesus Christ.[39]

The ruin of the Venetian state by war had certainly not impelled Querini to enter the hermitage:

> Querini had not yet departed on his second embassy - though he had already been chosen for it - when he had considered living far away and separated from the honours and cares of the world; although he had not yet seriously considered becoming a monk. A king of France had not yet descended into Italy, the Venetian troops had not yet fled and dispersed, nor had Lombardy been occupied by the barbarians, when Querini had decided in his soul to live among the monks of his country in some distant and solitary place: now see well how mistaken are those people who believe that the ruin of his homeland has moved Querini to become a monk.[40]

Nor yet did he abandon his country, as some had thought, because he failed to obtain sufficient dignities and magistracies, or because having failed to dominate the Senators of Venice he wished to dominate monks. He did not value high office as much as others did, and he chose not to join a rich congregation with all the opportunities which would have resulted. Rather, Querini had directed himself towards future eternity and mundane cares were dangerous to his soul. It was not despair at earthly life which was significant so much as Querini's perception of blessed happiness towards which he had driven his thoughts and love, and which had caused him to adopt a solitary life. At the

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[38] 'Dappoi questo credo non fallire se io dirò, già più di tre e forse quattro anni sono passati, che il Querini con voi vivendo esteriormente, nell'interiore dell'animo, già con istabilita e ferma sentenza viveva nell'abito e conversazione monastica, o poco da quella diverso, e ad essere tra monaci sestesso avea dedicato...' *Ibid.* col. 556. I am grateful to Sr Mary David for explaining the monastic sense of 'conversazione' here.

[39] 'Tutto questo vi dico, e molte altre cose lascio forse più efficaci per mostrarvi, che non è stato nè nuovo, nè poco esaminato, nè precipitato in alcun modo il pensiero e l'affetto del nostro buon Querino in questo suo abbandonare il Mondo, nè causato de alcuna mondana occasione, come molti sciocchi si pensano, ma solo da un vero conoscimento delle mondane vanità, e da un sincero amore di Gesucristo'. *Ibid.* coll. 556-57.

[40] 'Non era ancora il Querino nella seconda sua ambasciata andato, sebbene già eletto, quando vivere lontano e separato dagli onori e cure mondane aveva deliberato, benchè non avesse allora l'esser monaco deliberato. Non era ancora un Re di Francia disceso in Italia, non era stato ancora l'esercito Veneziano fugato e disperso, nè la Lombardia da'Barbari occupata, quando avea il Querino nell'animo stabilito di vivere tra' monaci della sua patria in qualche solitario luogo lontano: or vedete bene, come s'ingannano, chi crede, che le ruine della patria abbia mosso il Querino a farsi monaco'. *Ibid.* col. 557.

same time, Giustiniani emphasized the instability of people, states, and classes. It could be argued that Giustiniani was too much at pains to emphasize that Querini's withdrawal from the world was motivated by a sense of vocation and not by ambition or a sense of Venetian political decline or collapse. However, Querini's concern for monastic life in the northern European countries is revealed in his diplomatic writing of 1505-7. In addition, Pietro Bembo's justification for his failure to enter a monastery in 1506 which he directed to Querini, reveals that the latter Venetian was certainly considering the contemplative life before the shock of Agnadello.[41]

At precisely the same time that Querini was employed in government service, Giustiniani was developing his interest in the equanimity of the soul through a study of Petrarch, Aristotle, Seneca, and Cicero.[42] He also continued his related examination of the love of God, first with reference to Plato, Plotinus, Proclus, Marsilio Ficino, and Pico, and then by means of scripture, and the works of St Jerome, St Augustine, St Gregory, St Ambrose, and St Bernard. He frequently attacked scholastic interpreters for contaminating biblical truth with philosophical theorems, for forgetting its end and form in spirituality, for lacking humility and unction before divine wisdom in the muddle of polemics and disputes. In short, he decried the way in which the simplicity of the gospels was upset in a Babel of opinions. This return to textual source was combined with a longing for reform and spiritual renewal, and a return to original Christianity. Humanism invigorated these developments in bringing men back to the gospels. Erasmus wrote of the '...work of those who are seeking to restore the more authentic words and a purer theology with true piety'.[43] Giustiniani's spirituality was also strongly affective - with its concern to reach God through the poetry of the Psalms, the Song of Songs, and St Paul which he came to *via* Plato, Plotinus, Proclus, and Origen. He was also influenced by the simplicity of Seneca, Cicero, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bernard, and Peter Damian. From 1509 he applied humanist methods in reading the Bible. In the *Libellus ad Leonem* (1513) he proposed that the Bible and liturgy should be translated into the vernacular and he wrote to the Florentine Girolamo Benivieni requesting a translation of the Bible into Italian.[44]

In 1507, Giustiniani had made a proposal of an agreement to the Franciscan chapter-general about his stay in the monastery at Bethlehem. He would adopt the habit but he

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[41] See below, p. 45.

[42] For what follows see Massa (1992) ch.v.

[43] '...labor eorum qui synceriores litteras ac puriorem theologiam cum vera pietate conantur restituere'. P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen (eds.) *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* 61 vols., (Oxford, 1906-58) VII, 211, no. 1891 (ca.17 October 1527), lines 328-30.

[44] *AC* IX, coll. 681-2; O. Zorzi Pugliese, 'Girolamo Benivieni: umanista riformatore (dalla corrispondenza inedita)', *La Bibliofilia* 71 (1970) 253-88.

would not take vows.[45] In May 1510, Giustiniani, Querini and Giovanni Battista Egnazio sent a proposed covenant to Pietro Delfin, the head of the Camaldolese order, about their presence at the hermitage at Camaldoli. Giustiniani undertook the difficult journey into the Appenines in order to inspect the monastery and hermitage at Camaldoli. In their proposal they declared that they wanted to abandon the secular life in order '...more easily to pursue the salvation of our souls...' and do some penance for past sins.[46] They would renounce all worldly pomp, riches, delights, or dignities, as well as perturbation or action in order to follow Christ. They would enter with no obligations, that is to say, without assuming a habit, making vows, or taking on any temporal responsibilities. They noted that they would in effect make a vow of poverty after having paid for the construction of their cells (100 ducats each) and after an additional payment of 100 ducats. In the proposal they declared that they wished to study scripture together in a place of solitude, far from cities, castles, and women. In addition, they wanted a 'maestro' or 'padre' to hear their confessions. Camaldoli appeared to be suitable for these purposes and they stipulated their desire to be provided there with one cell each, adequate food, dress, bedding, and light. They wished to be free from manual and administrative work in order: '...to undertake the contemplative life and scriptural studies'.[47] However, they were willing to respect any imposed silences, although they always wished to move freely in the hermitage.

Giustiniani reported on his stay at Camaldoli during July and August 1510 in a report divided into seventeen sections.[48] However, soon after Pietro Delfin consented to their special 'capitolati' at the beginning of July, Giustiniani had a change of heart and decided to take vows. He later wrote:

> I recall having wished to try to live in a solitary villa...or at a house that I have at Murano, and the experience showed me that such a life is more appropriate for a gentile philosopher than a religious Christian soul. In such a thing there was neither denial of the world, nor mortification of one's own free will, nor the virtue of obedience, nor true poverty, and innumerable perils to chastity. Even if everything else had been there, there was not the open confession of Jesus Christ, and there was not the example of one's neighbour.[49]

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[45] Massa (1992) 112-13.

[46] '...più facilmente conseguir la salute di le anime nostre...' *Ibid.* 113.

[47] '...versar ne la vita comtemplativa [sic] et ne i studii de la Scrittura'. *Ibid.* 116.

[48] *TLF* I, 298.

[49] 'Mi riccordo haver voluto provar de viver in una villa solitario [...] over a una cassa che haveo a Murano, et la experientia mi mostrava che tal vita era più tosto da un gentil philosopho che da un religioso animo christiano. Nella qual non era abnegation del mondo, non mortification de le proprie voluntà, non virtù de obedientia, non vera povertà, et innummerabili periculi de la castità. Et quando vi fusse stata ogni altra cosa, non vi era la aperta confession di Iesu Christo, non vi era lo exemplo del proximo'. Quoted in Massa (1988b) 56. For the above I follow *ibid.* 53-62.

At Christmas, 1510, Giustiniani wrote: 'It is ten years or more since it was decided in my soul to be a religious, to abandon the world; but I was very slow and lazy in deciding the place and the method'.[50] Giustiniani's preference for a solitary life in the secular as well as the monastic life is quite clear. However, although his personal inclination was towards a semi- or completely eremitical life like that of the Carthusians or Camaldolese, rather than towards the cenobitic life of the Benedictines, it is also clear that he valued the presence of other pious Christians, and particularly his friends.

Querini wrote of 'the new change of mind' of Tommaso, 'which has occurred unexpectedly in a matter, which I had never thought of until now'.[51] Querini wrote to assure Giustiniani that:

> the change of mind...has not disturbed my thought. Nor should you believe that I wish to disrupt our company at the beginning, nor yet do I think that by your new thought you have disrupted it. Indeed, I rather think that you are a good reason to take your companions wherever you are, if not as you would like, at least as they are able.[52]

The two men had begun to recite the Breviary together in 1509, and from May 1510 they adopted the hairshirt. At the beginning of 1511 Giustiniani advised Querini to recite the Psalms twenty-five times daily and to say the Psalter weekly.[53] He exhorted a literal, not mystical, exegesis and a study of Hebrew which Querini undertook with a Hebrew preceptor by May 1511. Querini's interest in Hebrew may date from as early as 1507 when he appears to have made a translation and commentary on the Song of Songs. It is also interesting to note that he presented the German humanist Conrad Peutinger with a copy of Origen (a commentator on the Song of Songs) while in Augsburg in 1507.[54]

Querini also transcribed the second and third books of Johannes Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494). In the second book the Jew Baruchias argued that philosophy was the root of heresy, and that one should return to an interpretation of the names in the Bible. Therefore, in the third book the Christian interlocutor Capnione explained the virtue of

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[50] 'Son dice anni et più che di esser religioso, di abandonar il mondo era già ne l'animo mio statuito; ma dil loco, dil modo avanti ch'io habbia deliberato, son stato molto tardo et pigro'. Quoted *ibid.*57

[51] '...la nova mutatione...son gionto alla sprovvista in cosa che per hora non mi pensava mai'. Quoted Massa (1988b) 81, n.2.

[52] 'nova mutatione dell'animo vostro...non ha punto turbato il mio pensiero. Nè...crediate ch'io voglia rumpere l'incominciata nostra compagnia, nè che pure mi pensa che voi, per il novo vostro pensiero, l'habiate rotta. Anzi, più tosto mi credo che voi sarete buona cagione di tirar li compagni vostri in qualunque loco che voi sarete, se non come voi voreste, almen com'essi potrano'. Quoted *ibid.* 82, n.10.

[53] Massa (1992) 207.

[54] Heinrich Lutz, 'Vincenzo Querini in Augsburg 1507', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 74 (1955) 200-12: 200.

the name 'Iesus'.[55] Querini could have come to know this work through Egidio of Viterbo, who admired Reuchlin, or by means of the famous cabbalist Francesco Zorzi, whom he certainly knew quite well. Querini also knew Cardinal Domenico Grimani by 1514. His library included manuscripts and printed works belonging to Pico, and was especially rich in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic works, as well as patristic authors and philosophical writings. In any case Querini also wrote a Hebrew dictionary (which may now be in North America).[56]

Querini had begun reciting the Psalms by Christmas, 1510, for he found that he began '...understanding openly and clearly the most sacred mysteries of Christ'.[57] Querini emphasized the effectual love of God which such study allowed and he fully intended to finish his translation of the Psalms and to continue his Hebrew studies at Camaldoli. Querini admired the better sense and poetry of the Hebrew Psalms as compared with the Psalms in Latin, or the works of Homer and Virgil, thus reversing the traditional emulation of Greco-Latin poetic models and concomitant denigration of the Hebrew Psalms. St Jerome had loved the Hebrew of the scriptures, particularly the Psalms, although he found it difficult to understand, and barbarous to his ear. Like St Augustine, he contrasted the Latin of the classical authors unfavourably with that of the scriptures. Querini wrote of his belief that the Psalms were superior to Petrarch's sonnets and Horace's odes in terms of philosophical and theological values. Like the sonnets, the Psalms carried a motive of love of eternal celestial 'bellez[z]a'.[58]

The decision of Querini and Giustiniani to enter the hermitage was clearly the culmination of many years of thought. Andrea Navagero commented that he had never

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[55] *TLF* I, 492.

[56] Querini wrote to Marino Zorzi during 1511-12: 'Ne vi sia grave, andando à visitare il nostro Reverendo frate Francesco Zorgi raccommandarmi molto alle calde orationi sue; & dirli che questa vita, in ch'io mi trovo, nó è tale in asprezza, quale ho sempre estimato essere la sua. & che per questo harò sempre grate le orationi sue; pensando, ch'egli, si per il continuo giovare al prossimo suo, come per l'asprezza maggiore da molti canti della vita sua, habbia tanto meritato appresso il mio Signore, s'à lui, & non ad altro harà sempre drizzata la mente, che mi potrà grandemente giovare. & se con qualche dotto fedele, & buono ricordo egli penserà d'essermi nella vita, ch'io sono, utile, harò sempre caro di haverlo da lui, di leggierlo, & di metterlo poi in quel construtto, che dal mio Signore mi farà posto nel cuore: nell'amore, & timore delquale, io vi prego, che sempre vogliate stare'. *Lettere di Diversi Nobilissimi Huomini, et Eccellentissimi Ingegni, scritte in diverse materie...libro primo* (eds.) P.&A. Manuzio (Aldi Filii: Venice, 1549) f.43v. A good study of Francesco Zorzi is found in Cesare Vasoli, *Profezia e ragione. Studi sulla cultura del Cinquecento e del Seicento* (Naples, 1974) ch.2.
On Grimani's library see Ronald K. Delph, 'From Venetian Visitor to Curial Humanist: The Development of Agostino Steuco's "Counter" - Reformation Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly* XLVII (1994) 102-39: 106-08. On the tension between the humanists' ideal of the 'Hebraica veritas' and cabbalism or 'Judaismus falsus' see W. L. Gundersheimer, 'Erasmus, Humanism, and the Christian Cabala', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963) 38-52.

[57] '...aperta et chiaramente comprehendendo tutti gli sanctissimi misterii...de Cristo'. Quoted Massa (1992) 213.

[58] Quoted *ibid.* 224.

doubted that one day Querini and Giustiniani would end up in the cloister.[59] Considering the common interests of the Venetians whom they had known at Padua and Venice during 1490-1510 it is no surprise that some were tempted to follow their friends into the cloister. Pietro Bembo, Trifone Gabriele, Giovanni Battista Memmo, Egnazio, Sebastiano Zorzi, Marcus Musurus, and Cola Bruno, Bembo's secretary, all considered abandoning the secular world at different periods of time, and for different reasons.[60]

Giustiniani believed in March 1511 that if Querini brought Gabriele to Camaldoli he would stay, and Musurus might not be the very last person to think of staying (he had received some ecclesiastical property while at Carpi during 1499-1503 and was named Archbishop of Monemvasia in Greece in 1516).[61] Querini was to invite Musurus and Memmo to stay 'pur[e] ridendo ridendo'. In May of that year Giustiniani expected that Egnazio and Gabriele might stay at Camaldoli without obligation. Bruno and Bembo were also expected to come and stay. However, by September, Musurus was expected to accompany Querini and Zorzi to Camaldoli merely before he travelled on to Florence.[62] Gasparo Contarini made it clear that he would only come to Camaldoli on a visit.[63] By December, 1511, Egnazio had finally decided to enter Camaldoli. However, Valerio Superchio wrote to Querini in October 1511: 'It seems to me you make little account of your life, since to go to such a region in winter is certainly not advised'.[64]

In 1506, Pietro Bembo had proposed to live at the abbey of Fonte Avellano for approximately one year. It is probable that this project was motivated more by literary

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[59] Massa (1988b) 59 & 82,n.2.

[60] On Bembo see Massa (1992) 60 and Massa (1988b) 60. Giustiniani wrote: 'Colla del nostro Bembo, per quanto mi ha raffirmato, vol pur venire...' *Ibid.* 60. Jedin summarizes Bembo's reaction to Querini's decision to become a monk thus: 'Bembo dagegen stellte nur resigniert, um nicht zu sagen gleichgültig die Frage: Was kann man dagegen tun, da er es doch so gewollt hat?' Hubert Jedin, 'Vicenzo Querini und Pietro Bembo' in *idem, Kirche des Glaubens. Kirche der Geschichte* 2 vols., (Freiburg, 1966) I, 155 & n.13. Pietro Bembo wrote to Trifone Gabriele: 'Quanto a M. Vincenzo Quirino, che se ne può altro poscia che egli così ha voluto? Dogliamo non meno che facciate voi, e parmi altresì essere rimasto mezzo, pure mi vo confortando, e stimo, che quando tutti gli altri miei amici mi lasciassero, non mi siate per lasciar voi. Alla qual cosa vi conforto, non tanto per non lasciar gli amici vostri, che voi di loro voluntà non lascer anno giammai, quanto perchè non vi lasciate voi stesso. Deh Valerio mio, è possibile che io non sia mai più per vedere una di quelle vostre lunghissime e festevolissime lettere? Questo è anco peggio che inromitarsi, lasciare e abbandonar gli amici ad instanzia delle Donne'. *Lettere* II (1 April 1512) no.315 .

[61] Musurus said that he found wearisome his assistance at daily prayers and other spiritual exercises which this property entailed. He was named to other Greek sees and received additional ecclesiastical revenues from his native Crete, and Cyprus. He may also have aspired to the cardinalate. Deno Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: studies in the dissemination of Greek learning from Byzantium to the west* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962) 127 & n.67, 160, 161, 163.

[62] Massa (1992) 50 n.59, 54-55.

[63] Hubert Jedin, 'Contarini und Camaldoli', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 2 (1959) 67, 68, 81-2, 85, 90.

[64] 'parmi che faciati pocho conto de la vostra vita, perchè andar verso il verno in una region tale, certo è stato mal conseglio'. Letter of 18 October 1511 quoted in Jedin (1966) 155, n.12.

and financial concerns than by religious interests. Bembo had been disappointed in his attempts to gain diplomatic posts in Venice, and he had also experienced some difficulties in Rome, and he clearly expected to be granted the title to this abbacy by the Duchess of Urbino.[65] In the event, Bembo decided to take up the Duchess of Urbino's offer and to stay in her palace nearby until the weather had improved. Querini evidently disapproved of Bembo's decision which the latter attempted to excuse in a letter to Querini in December, 1506.[66] Bembo contrasted his own shaky position vis-à-vis ecclesiastical rewards with the 'very beautiful and very desirable palace' (of spiritual and secular rewards) which Querini was then building. Bembo, agitated by his ambitions, explained that he did not understand Querini's hope that he might be more dignified for although Querini had travelled more widely, yet Bembo had lived more and tried many things in vain while Querini had always been given help. Bembo had learnt not to hope for anything, nor yet to grow proud with any good fortune. He simply hoped for peace ('quies'). He could not enter the life that Querini now had because he did not have the latter's 'virtù' and he was therefore obliged to achieve some security by going to Urbino.

However, he did not wish to reprove Querini for his advice and he believed that Querini had chosen the course most appropriate to him. Bembo outlined the benefits that he himself could receive from staying at Urbino, and effectively accused Querini of hypocrisy by reminding him that he would have praised Bembo in the past if he had obtained the title of abbot, and that indeed Querini himself had considered that path. To Querini's reproach that he was living off others Bembo replied that he had not come to Urbino with that intention, but rather to stay at the abbey. Querini appears to have suggested that Bembo go to court, or seek a pension from a cardinal. Bembo suggested that Querini would soon be: 'the greatest and most honoured man of our city'. However, he added: 'If your mind is turned towards that end to which the hermit advised Lavinello to turn his [i.e. this refers to the learned hermit in the third book of *Gli Asolani* who urges Lavinello to contemplate the divine], as you have written, this greatly pleases me'.[67]

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[65] See his letter to Elisabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pia of Montefeltro in which he complains of his expenses at Rome and expresses his desire for liberty: *Lettere* I (3 May 1506) no.231.

[66] *Ibid.* I (10 December 1506) no.245, 234-39.

[67] '...molto bello e molto vago palagio...' ; 'Se avete il vostro animo volto a quel fine al quale il Romito conforta Lavinello che volga il suo, come scrivete avere, ciò molto mi piace, e tanto più allettevole a rimuovere da esso il vostro è quello de gli onori e dello splendor della republica, che non è la fama degli studi, che dite esser causa di forlo e di nasconderlo al mio'. ; '...il maggiore e più onorato uomo della nostra città'. *ibid.* 236, 239.

In May 1511, Giustiniani still expected that Pietro Bembo would come to stay at Camaldoli for one year.[68] However, in August of that year Bembo wrote to Giustiniani that Querini had composed many Greek letters to his friends, in which he aimed to persuade them to study scripture and the gospels, and that every day he spent some time at his Hebrew. Bembo remarked that he had seen Giustiniani's letters and Querini's exhortation to Egnazio, which had pleased him. He noted that a rumour had circulated in Venice to the effect that Bembo had become a monk. On the contrary, he now planned to go to Rome in September with Federico Fregoso, Bishop of Salerno, and stay there all winter in search of repose. As soon as he had arranged his affairs he would spend a year at Camaldoli. At present the French and Germans were in Vicenza, and planned to camp at Treviso. The emperor was expected, but all of Bembo's friends were ready to defend Padua.[69]

ii. 'All the sorts of good life I praise...'
'Lycenope', Querini, and the active and contemplative lives.

Two letters of 15 July 1510 record Querini's responses to Giustiniani's description of Camaldoli where he had just received permission to reside from Pietro Delfin. Querini wrote of his pleasure at the solitude and peace of the place. The silence which was imposed there from Compline to Terce did not seem to him too difficult, and the division of offices was not so long as he thought. He awaited more information on the obligations. He declared his firm intention to join Giustiniani after winter or, more precisely, after Easter. He would accompany Egnazio on this journey, having provided for his brother. He described the sacrifice which he was very willing to make:

> My Tommaso, I know this space of time we have to live here below on earth is given to us by our Saviour Jesus Christ in order that we may leave all worldly honours and pleasures, and direct ourselves in thought and in love and with all our other actions towards the Creator of all things, and not follow our senses...I see clearly that the safest way is not merely to deprive oneself of all the benefits of fortune and not to care for glory which may come to us from the world in any way, but actually to make of oneself a true sacrifice to God, giving Him both body and soul together.[70]

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[68] Massa (1992) 69-70.

[69] *Lettere* II (30 August 1511) no.311, 53-54.

[70] 'Conosco, messer Tommaso mio, questo tanto spazio di vivere, che noi quaggiù in terra abbiamo, esserci dal nostro Salvator Gesucristo donato, acciocchè noi lasciando ogni onore, ogni piacer mondano, s'indrizzamo col pensiero, coll'amore, coll'altre nostre operazioni al creatore del tutto, e non seguendo i sensi, e di noi stessi solo pensando rimanghiamo svillupati in terra, e a far cotal effetto, ben vedo esser sicurissima via non solo il privarsi di ogni ben di fortuna, e il non curar gloria, che per verun modo ci potesse venir dal mondo, ma il fare de sestesso ancora vero sagrifizio a Dio, donandogli in uno stesso tempo il corpo e l'animo insieme'. *AC* IX, col. 453.

He was also moved to a very poetic description of Camaldoli as he imagined the murmuring of the leaves accompanying the voices of the hermits praising God.[71] However, in an observation which foreshadowed Giustiniani's later difficulties, he wrote that he was not pleased by the quality of the monks themselves 'because of their youth, and their tumultuous way of living', particularly as Camaldoli was a place where they would spend the rest of their lives.[72] Curiously, Querini remarked that his transfer would be made difficult if Giustiniani became a 'monaco bianco' (Cistercian) in Florence or in any place outside the hermitage, because these orders were better regulated and ordered.[73] He did concede in a subsequent letter that if, after prayers and fasts, when his heart allowed Giustiniani to persist in the hermitage he did not feel 'that true and warm inspiration', he must enter 'either the black monks [Augustinian Canons or Camaldolese] or the Carthusians, whichever you prefer'.[74]

Querini's struggle to prepare himself for the monastic life was characterized in his letter of August 1510 by his use of two *personae*: Lycenope and Vincenzo. 'Lycenope' was a name applied to Querini by Pietro Bembo as early as 1506. In a marginal note to his letter to Querini where he referred to 'il nostro Lycenope' in the body of the text, he explained: 'Vincenzo Querini calls himself Lycenope when he is in private'.[75] Querini requested information on fasts, silence, solitude, and other obediences, and declared that Lycenope's desire to join Giustiniani in the monastic life grew daily, although he wished to know from Giustiniani if he (Querini) could endure such a life as he was delicate and sometimes lacked hope of Christ's aid.[76] The caution which Lycenope expressed was further developed in the letter:

> ...but he makes it clear to you, that he would be happiest if he were as you will be; free and with no obligation; but since it seems to you that you cannot persevere in the hermitage, place yourself elsewhere among more ordered monks - as you can - and he promises you that he will come to such a life, as long as you, when you have seen it, are happy that he should come; and he does not wish to delay any longer than this coming winter.[77]

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71 *Ibid.* col. 455.

72 '...per la giovinezza loro, e per il tumultuoso modo di vivere...' *Ibid.* col. 454.

73 *Ibid.* coll. 458-59.

74 '...questa vera e calda ispirazione...';'...ne'monaci negri, e per li secondi ne'Certosini, dove più vorrete'. *Ibid.* col. 463.

75 *Lettere* (10 December 1506) no.245, 236. 'Lycenope si chiamò esso stesso Messer Vincenzo Quirino nelle sue stanze'. In his preface to the codex F II BIS at Frascati (printed in *TLF* I, 119-20) Giustiniani noted: '...Vicenzo Quirino scrivea sotto nome di lycenope per menar le sue cose più secrete, ma non era altro licenope che esso quirino;...' 120. I find baffling Professor Gleason's conclusion that 'Lycenope' is: 'probably a play on the Latin form of his name, Quirinus...' Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1993) 19 n.76. It is certainly not a familiar or recognizable classical Greek name.

76 *AC* IX col. 462.

77 '...ma ben vi fa intendere, che di maggior suo contento saria essere, come voi sarete, che libero e senza alcuna obbligazione, però non parendovi poterla durare nell'eremo, mettetevi altrove ne'monaci più ordinati, che potete, ch'egli vi promette venire a simil vita, se voi quando il vedrete, sarete

Lycenope asked Giustiniani to consider Jerome's warning about the dangers of the solitary life and went on to consider the possibility of Giustiniani entering another order of monks.

By the beginning of 1511, Querini's (and Lycenope's) hesitations had not been fully overcome although he declared that he had received comfort from Giustiniani's letters and a remedy to the 'poisonous roots' in him which threatened to produce 'bitter fruit'.[78] However, he observed that it was the action of Christ which was more important to their spiritual lives. The divine spirit had operated secretly on Giustiniani not because of his own merits, men could not merit this - but because of the merits of the Son of God. By this means one could endure isolation from friends and family and also rise again like a phoenix. When Querini came to consider his own separation from his brother he was moved to tears by the thought of it. However, he quickly reminded himself that his earthly life would soon be over and, after a short suffering he would find himself in Heaven. Yet he asked himself, in a way echoed by Contarini below, whether to abandon the world:

> You cannot do anything more pleasing to God than to help and direct your neighbour and your relatives along the way of salvation; do you not know that the good Paul, for the salvation of his neighbour, made himself all things that he believed would be for the good of others: both a Jew to the Jews; and a Greek to the Greeks.[79]

Lycenope asked himself whether he would want to be abandoned in the same way that he was abandoning his friends, for that might be a greater sin in the eyes of God. He asked himself whether Querini should wait until he could follow God free of relatives and in the meantime help those who were nearest to him. Querini replied that help came to every penitent by means of the merits of Christ's passion and that he was 'Mediatore, Salvatore e Ricuperatore' between man and God.[80] It would be dangerous to remain in the world since men accumulated sins there. Those left behind would be consoled by Christ. Lycenope countered this by suggesting that Vincenzo must wait for his grandmother's death before leaving. But Querini suggested that if it was good to little

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contento, che lui venga, ne dice voler più tardar che questa prossima invernata...';'...mi dice ancora l'eremo piacergli più, che luogo alcun altro, per non vi poter entrare ambizione di prelature li dentro, e vi conforta, se il cuore, se lo spirito vi dà di poter durare, che fatta qualche lunga orazione con digiuni e simili devozioni, attendiate quanto v'ispiri Cristo, e sentendovi l'animo davvero inclinato a seguire quella santa solitudine, fermatevi e tenete modo poi di poter di tempo avvisare come vi portate, sempre persuandendolo e incitandolo a così fare, se questo fasa il vero parer vostro'. *Ibid.* coll. 462-63.

[78] '...molte velenose radici...amari frutti...' *Ibid.* col. 497

[79] 'Che cosa più grata a Dio fare non puoi, che ajutare e indrizzare il prossimo tuo, li parenti tuoi per via di Salute; non sai che il buon Paolo per la Salute del prossimo si faceva tutto quello, ch'egli stimava essere per giovare altrui, e con Giudei Giudeo, e con Greci Greco;...' *Ibid.* col. 499.

[80] *Ibid.* col. 501

value the world and 'pant' for the other life[81], then '...will he not have greater honour who is given by the citizens of the celestial kingdom that which the men of our homeland can have...' Querini asked Lycenope if he thought that Christ's sacrifice had been made for him alone and Giustiniani, and for the inhabitants of the hermitage. If this was not in fact the case, then what need was there to save oneself by flight, convincing oneself that Camaldoli is the only way, and that Christ's aid does not work upon us all. All the human knowledge which Lycenope had acquired from peripatetics and academics was useless without the gifts of the Saviour which he had acquired in his ignorance. Resorting to the imagery of his Petrarchan sonnets he declared: '...all human understanding is like an obscure shadow in spite of Faith which is illuminated from above...'[82]

However, by spilling His own blood Christ had wished to open the way to Heaven to all. In this way, Querini flexibly suggested that the refusal to flee the world was not a sure way of condemning one's soul to perdition. Querini, in this battle neither winner or loser, addressed Christ directly and appealed to his purity while simultaneously lamenting his own past life, which was led:

> ...rather in this true death, having been always full not only of those vain, proud thoughts that tend almost always to follow in the train of worldly learning, but also of a vain ambition - which until now has been almost connatural to me - to be above all others, praised and admired by the world...[83]

It was as if another Lucifer had entered him. Ironically, he recognized the vanity of human desires but he also saw that salvation might be open to men and women of high and low rank who have a simple faith.[84] The study of Aristotle had led him into error, and he should abstain from such things and embrace a pure faith, without glorying in it. He could achieve this by looking into his own soul, abandon his worldly thoughts, and turn them towards:

> ...your Saviour, to your Redeemer, to the Creator of all things visible and invisible; and you will see Him upon the hard wood of the cross, all bloodied and with His open and cruelly nailed arms, calling to you: Come,

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81 'anelare ad altra vita' *Ibid.* col. 502.

82 '...non sarà egli maggior l'onore, che da' Cittadini del celeste regno ci fusse dato, che quello, che da gli uomini della patria nostra potessimo avere...';'...tutte le umane cognizioni sono quasi oscurissime tenebre a dispetto della di sopra illuminata fede...' *Ibid.* coll. 502, 503.

83 '...anzi piuttosto in questa vera morte, essere sempre stato pieno non solo di que' vani gonfiamenti, che sogliono quasi sempre seguire le scienze mondane, ma di una vana e quasi a me finnora connaturale ambizione d'essere sopra gli altri tutti lodato ed ammirato dal mondo...' *Ibid.* col. 504.

84 '...uomini volgari sì di oscuro, come di nobil sangue nati...' *Ibid.* col. 506.

> my son, come, and do not be afraid; for if I wash your wounds with my own blood you will be most speedily restored to health.[85]

He should therefore leave the world and join Giustiniani. Querini concluded that despite his tendency to fall back into sin, nothing would move him from this intention and he would place himself in Christ's, and Giustiniani's care as he already 'takes aid from the blood of the blessed Son of God'. He would thereby avoid sin by entering Camaldoli.[86]

This letter, with its strong eucharistic overtones, gives a vivid impression of Querini's inner struggle and conveys a strong sense of his feelings of unworthiness for a world other than the secular. He despised both his secular ambition and success in the world but he seems curiously resigned, rather than joyful, at the prospect of abandoning it. Indeed, he dwells at length on the lives of ordinary people who maintain their faith in the midst of it. A letter written at the beginning of 1512 dwells on the struggles of his brother and the desire to see him married and free from the temptation of the flesh.[87] At this time Contarini was struggling with the problem of meriting God's love and living in the city. The two men had grown close by 1511 in their struggle to reconcile themselves with their vocational choices and there is much in the foregoing discussion which is to be found in Contarini's letters. While Querini joined Giustiniani at Camaldoli in February, 1512, Contarini remained behind in Venice to reconcile himself with the secular world.

Contarini's attempt to warn Querini of the possible dangers of the eremitical life in letters of December 1511 and March 1512 elicited Giustiniani's sharp response, as well as a much more moderate letter. Contarini had reported the hostility aroused in Venice by Querini's decision to abandon the city at a time when it was under threat. Some Venetians, Contarini reported, alleged that Querini's pride and indignation at failing to obtain any magistracy on his return from Germany had provoked him to seek solitude and some great dignity in the curia. They accused him of publicising his decision throughout Italy in his letters and of seeking to become a new Paul. Contarini himself reminded Querini that the Greeks and some holy men had loved literature and valued religion and, like Christ, had joined 'otium' with 'negotium'.[88]

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[85] '...al Salvator tuo, al Redentor tuo, al Creatore di tutte le visibili ed invisibili cose, e lo vedrai sopra il duro legno della Croce tutto insanguinato con le aperte e crudelmente confitte braccia richiamarti : Vieni, figliuolo, vieni, e non temere, che con il proprio sangue mio lavando le tue ferite sarai presto presto risanato...' *Ibid.* coll. 507-08.

[86] '...prendete ajuto dallo sparso sangue del beato figliuolo di Dio...' *Ibid.* col. 509.

[87] *Ibid.* coll. 525-29 (Letter of 4 January 1512).

[88] 'aut otium suum cum negotio pulcherrime conjunxerunt, benefaciendo magis, quam nihil agendo, ut fecit Auctor Salutis, qui exemplum nobis dedit, ut sicut ipse fecit, ita & nos faceremus'. *AC* IX,

Querini called in a subsequent letter for there to be no more debate about which state of life should be embraced, and which avoided. His attention was focused on Christ's love and, urging Contarini and Tiepolo to 'perform holy works of piety, and walk in this world like pilgrims', he asserted that Christ would help us reach Him and God whether men lived in the city, engaged in public administration, or lived with a wife and children. He noted that he could not follow this path in his own country because of his own worthlessness and proud nature, but that Jesus never disapproved of the secular civic life. Those who did not live in solitude might even reach their goal sooner than those who did: 'I praise all forms of good life: and, in each one of them, that man walks best, who most ardently loves his Lord'.[89] Querini excused Giustiniani's reprimands as motivated by zeal and by the hint of censure of the monastic life contained in their letters. His letter of July 1512 to Giovanni Battista Egnazio, who was considering entering the monastery is full of sentiments of inner peace, and assurances of Christ's aid to those who are tempted.[90]

A previously unremarked letter dating from the period immediately after his arrival in Camaldoli in February 1512, sheds further light on Querini's new firm resolve to enter the eremitical life. In this letter to Marino Zorzi, which seems to respond to the concerns and accusations of the Venetians which Contarini had described[91], Querini announced his decision that the path of his life should be directed towards Christ. For the sake of his love of Christ he was prepared to abandon his homeland, his family, friends, and honours. However, he would meet his loved ones again in death and find his true heavenly homeland where he would not be honoured by a 'picciolo Senato' or a terrestrial emperor, but by the Angels. In order to delight in the infinite beauty and immense splendour of Christ, which had been stirred by the voices in his heart, he had retreated to the religious life, living in the woods as a solitary poor hermit far from the perturbations of his public career and of 'miserable' Italy which was subject to the depradations of its enemies. He would be able to tolerate all of these things better than other people believed if he remained at the hermitage. He declared that Zorzi should be happy for Querini as he had escaped these traps although he was weak, proud, and vain. He instructed Zorzi to reach for the love of Christ, and to '...cleanse away the stains on your soul, repenting past errors; so that once the divine splendour is shining

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coll.539-43 (March? 1512) See also *C. und C.* letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 72-6; letter no.10 (10 March 1512) 84-6.; *AC* IX, coll. 544-50, 560-63 (Giustiniani's replies, both stinging and conciliatory).

[89] 'Seguiamo l'opere sante di pieta, et caminiamo per questo mondo come peregrini...';'...Tutte le sorte di buone vite i lodo; et in ciascuna quello meglio camina, che piu ardentemente ama il suo Signore'. Minnich and Gleason (1989) 15 (Italian text). I quote from their translation, *ibid.* 18.

[90] *AC* IX coll. 564-66, particularly col. 566. (Letter of 1 July 1512).

[91] Zorzi (d.1532) was a philosopher and politician who was ambassador to Rome in 1515. On him see Sanudo XVII, coll. 23, 327, 523; *C. und C.* Letter no.13 (26 November 1513) 92.

there it can at once re-kindle you and illumine you'.[92] As a sign of his commitment to his new life and of his identification with the apostolic ideal he signed the letter: 'Vicenzo Quirino, hora frate Pietro...'

iii. Contarini and salvation 'in the midst of the city'.

Illness, domestic affairs, and the vagaries of war prevented Contarini from visiting the hermitage until May 1515. He seems to have felt the lack of his friends' company as a crisis of inadequacy to lead a truly spiritual life in the city. He never seems to have wavered in his belief that this was possible, although such a life was inferior to that of the hermits. The correspondence with Giustiniani and Querini which he began early in February 1511 cannot be considered among the contemporary humanist exchanges of letters which were intended for publication. They owe nothing to the Ciceronian model of a commentary on secular affairs, and they are unlike Petrarch's in that the ideas and sentiments they contain are obviously private, unformed, and evolving. Although Querini was accused of publicizing his own quasi-apostolic spiritual journey through his letters, there is no sense of any similar ambitions in Contarini's.[93] The letters were written in an Italian marked by Venetian idiosyncrasies and were intended for one person or at least a small circle of friends. In one letter Contarini remarked that he would like to be able to read the letters Giustiniani sent to Querini.[94] Later, Contarini was unable to comply with a request, made by a friend of Giustiniani, to see his letters as the letters had been stolen.[95] They were, rather, a means for the Venetian to 'ragionar' with his distant friends.

Contarini remarked that he had loved and been guided by Giustiniani above all other people. In his absence he felt himself grow worse, and his only hope was to see his friend at Easter as he was like a rudderless ship in the midst of the sea.[96] In his feeling of unworthiness his friend's love towards him had been a consolation, although he warned him that such love was unwarranted, living as he did in the midst of constant

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[92] '...nettare le macchie dell' animo vostro, pentendovi de' passati errori; acciocche poi il divino splendore in esso rilucendo, possa insiemamente si raccendervi, & illuminarvi...' Manuzio (1549) f.43r.
[93] On Renaissance letter-writing see C. H. Clough, 'The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections', in *idem* (ed.) *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York, 1976) 33-67. For an interesting approach to the relationship between the public and private concerns of another Renaissance correspondence see John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: discourses of power and desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). Anne Jacobsen Schutte, 'The *lettere volgari* and the crisis of evangelism in Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975) 639-88, is a revealing analysis of printed letter collections.
[94] *C. und C.* Letter no.1 (1 February 1511) 62.
[95] *Ibid.* Letter no.13 (26 November 1513) 92-3.
[96] *Ibid.* Letter no.1 (1 February 1511) 61.

evil. This led him to declare that the nature of his past life and the cast of his heart would not allow him to adopt even a small part of that life and leave the city and his friends and relatives for solitude.[97] Contarini suggested that Giustiniani's absence, which conventionally philosophers said, should moderate the warmth of friendship, had in fact led Giustiniani to love Contarini more tenderly. Contarini ascribed this to the fact that Giustiniani's love '...is not a love or earthly friendship founded in the enjoyment of conversing and living with friends, which philosophers have known, but is founded in Christian charity' which caused one to love God before rational creatures and which related an increase of love towards Him with a corresponding increase in love to those who are near or far from oneself.[98] By means of those who are a 'sweet focus of divine love' such as Giustiniani, Contarini hoped 'occasionally at least to break the ice of my adamantine heart'.[99]

However, Contarini had some difficulty accepting Querini's absence. In his second letter to Querini he argued against the solitary life, saying that it was cruel to his friends and family to adopt it.[100] However, later still, as Contarini tried to come to terms with Querini's decision to live at the hermitage, he returned to the idea that their friendship would actually benefit from Querini's concentration on the spiritual life in the same terms that he used from the outset with Giustiniani:

> I am sure that the good will which you bear towards me, and your increased charity towards God - which means that your charity towards your neighbour has increased also, for in him you love God - will not allow you to omit that action of piety and mercy towards us.[101]

As Contarini noted here, the Aristotelian ideal of friendship as material aid was necessarily transformed into spiritual aid. Such friendship imitated that of Christ for his disciples.[102]

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[97] '...rivolto a me stesso et considerando el viver mio ne li anni passati, et considerando che in me non è tal core che per se adapti per niente, non dico di far la vita che fati vui ma nè etiam una minima parte, nè el core mio mi dà di lassar la moltitudine di la città per vegnir in un poccho di solitudine che sia in qualunque religion ben larga, nè di lassar i miei amici et parenti che qui viveno, ve dico il vero che restai assai mal contento et poccho men che quasi disperato'. *Ibid.* Letter no.2 (24 April 1511) 63.

[98] '...non è amor nè amicitia mondana fondata ne la delectatione di conversar et viver con li amici, la qual i philosophi hanno cognosciuta, ma è fondata ne la charità christiana...' *Ibid.* Letter no.3 (10 August 1511) 65.

[99] '...qualche volta saltem romper questo giazo del mio adamantino core...' *Ibid.* 66.

[100] *Ibid.* Letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 75.

[101] 'Son certo che la benivolentia me portate et la charitate vostra cresciuta verso Dio et, per consequente, cresciuta etiam verso el proximo vostro, in el quale amate Dio, non vi lassarà pretermeter questo offitio di pietade et misericordia verso de nui'. *Ibid.* No.10 (10 March 1512) 85. For Giustiniani's 'tenerezza di charità verso la persona mia,...' see *ibid.* Letter no.2 (24 April 1511) 62.

[102] '...molto più debbe esser officio de l'amico subvegnire l'altro amico ne li deffecti sui circa li beni de l'animo'. *Ibid.* Letter no. 10 (10 March 1512) 85. Note also Contarini's attention to the power of his friends' prayers to Christ for him at *ibid.* Letter no.3 (10 August 1511) 66, letter no.9 (10 March 1512) 80, and letter no.11 (17 July 1512) 88. Contarini's idea of material friendship is here drawn from

This concept of 'love' ('charitate') which characterized the love for God or one's neighbour conformed to the medieval idea of 'caritas' as both a general moral term for love, including that between husband and wife, and as a term for a chaste friendship between celibates pursuing religious virginity.[103] This concept derived from the distinction between αγαπη and ερωσ made by St Paul (eg. 1 Cor. 13-14), and St Augustine (eg. *De Trinitate* IX.13). The former love was spiritual and directed towards God, Christ, and other Christians, while the latter was sensual. For St Augustine, whose views Contarini would have known from his reading of *De Trinitate*, 'caritas' was a gift of God and could only be obtained by accepting His grace. Contarini's struggle to accept this gift is similar to St Augustine's struggle in several ways. In his *Confessions* St Augustine described how he and a group of friends proposed to search for the happy life by abandoning worldly ambition and forming a community dedicated to the contemplative life. Drawing on neo-Platonism, St Augustine believed that the search for happiness was identical with the search for God, and that this search was intellectual.[104]

St Augustine argued that man's reason, by which he could share in Christ's wisdom, had active and contemplative functions which he named 'scientia' and 'sapientia', or knowledge and wisdom. Knowledge was primarily temporal and based in the field of action, while wisdom was eternal and part of the field of contemplation.[105] Contarini clearly found the search for wisdom much more difficult than the search for knowledge which he undertook systematically, and with obvious relish. However, like St Augustine, Contarini was weighed down by his sense of sin which prevented him from loving God, even though the revelation of God's love (which was the purpose of Christ's coming) was meant to overcome man's sin.[106] Contarini struggled with his own sense of sin and directed his thoughts towards Christ's sacrifice (represented in the Eucharist) in the hope of moving towards an understanding and love of God. Like St Paul, Contarini became convinced that his sacrifice could be made according to his gifts, knowing that : 'For as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, but

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Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, (ed. and trans.) H. Rackham (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1926) IX : 8,11.

[103] John Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness: same-sex unions in pre-modern Europe* (London, 1996) 9 & n.18.

[104] St Augustine, *The Confessions*, (trans.) W. Watts, 2 vols., (London and New York, 1912), book VI, chs. xi-xvi; book X.

[105] St Augustine, *On the Trinity*, (trans.) A. W. Haddan, revised W. G. T. Shedd, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, (ed.) P. Schaff (New York, 1886; repr. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956) 1st series, III, 17-228: books XII-XIV.

[106] *Ibid.* book IV.2; book XIII.13.

individually members one of another, having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us'.[107] St Paul's view was restated many times by Contarini both in his letters and in his more formal theoretical compositions.

Contarini's friendship with Querini and Giustiniani was not simply a spiritual one. His desire to 'ragionar' with Querini was often stated and he explained:

> Although I am not able to spend the time in these months during your absence as I am accustomed to do with you, passing most of the day in the most exquisite discussions, yet I can at least discuss things with you by means of long letters.[108]

While there had been some hint of the ascetic nature of the two hermits, Contarini was consequently much concerned with his own worldliness in a way which was expressed by fears for his own salvation, a sense of inadequacy for the solitary life, a sense of inadequacy before scripture, and his awareness of his inability in general to rise towards the level of his friends in their love for God. Much of the correspondence was therefore taken up with Contarini's discussion of the means of salvation appropriate to himself, Giustiniani, and, most acutely, Querini. The struggle to reconcile the active and contemplative lives in a way suitable for salvation was only one aspect of Contarini's debate with himself and his friends, and it can be argued that he promoted the merits of the Christian life in the midst of the city. Like St Thomas Aquinas he believed man's desire for happiness which was only completely fulfilled in finding God, could in some measure be satisfied by the happiness of pleasure which was a good in itself.[109]

Contarini declared that he did not merit the 'benivolentia' of Giustiniani which increased in absence rather than diminished. He was aware of his past sins and felt that despite all the penitence he showed he would never be able to merit that happiness. However, the passion of Christ might be sufficient to make an accounting for the world's sins. He paraphrased St Paul (Romans 12.3-6):

> And although everyone cannot have the grace of being members close to the head [i.e.Christ], yet everyone who is connected to that body by the influence of the virtue of the satisfaction which our head carried out, can hope to make more satisfaction for his own sins with a little effort.

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[107] Romans 12.3-6. St Augustine quotes this passage in his *City of God against the Pagans*, (trans.) W. M. Green, 7 vols., (Cambridge, Mass, 1972), book.X.vi. On St Augustine's view of love see John Burnaby, *Amor Dei: a study of the religion of St. Augustine* (1938; repr. Norwich, 1991).

[108] 'Perochè, non possendo io in questi mesi che seti absente consumar gran parte del giorno ne le dolcissime confabulation che soleva far con vui, almeno con questo mezo satisfacia, ragionando con vui in longissime lettere'. *C. und C.* Letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 72-3.

[109] St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 61 vols., (London, 1967-81) XXIX, IaIIae.34, 3.

Such a union had to be made with faith, hope, and love. Contarini therefore allowed his spirit to soar to that highest happiness ('summa bontà'), and he saw Christ '...on the cross with His arms open and breast opened to the heart' ready to accept him. Contarini declared:

> Therefore will I not sleep securely, although in the midst of the city and without having satisfied the debt that I have contracted, having such a One to pay for my debt? Truly I sleep and I live thus securely as if I stayed all my life in the hermitage, with the intention of never becoming dissatisfied with such a support.

He reiterated that he would live secure and without fear of his own wickedness because of Christ's mercy ('misericordia'). This thought constantly nourished him, despite the fact that Contarini lived among the multitude of the city.[110]

Contarini's use of the imagery of Christ's wounds in this letter is striking and echoes that of Querini. Such imagery commonly gave medieval and Renaissance men and women a very immediate personal connection with Christ. The wounds of Christ, and principally his side wound, were the object of monastic devotion in the middle ages, and were closely connected with the eucharistic imagery which was always present in the Book of Hours and elsewhere.[111] A fifteenth-century painting executed by Quirizio da Murano (fl.1460-78) for the monastery of St Clare on Murano depicted Christ showing his wound and offering a host to a group of nuns. Around the image of Christ were phrases from the Song of Songs such as 'Come to me, dearly beloved friends, and eat my flesh'.[112] The wounds therefore played a vital part in the eucharist in providing the mixture of blood and water which was present in the chalice as the mixture of wine and water. As the Eucharist was regarded as the essence of Christ's humanity and the surest promise of salvation, Christ's wounds attracted masses, feasts, and indulgences. People carried pieces of parchment which depicted the wounds and were intended to act as remedies. One such parchment appealed to St Longinus, the

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[110] 'Et benchè tutti non possi haver tanta gratia di esser membri propinqui al capo, pur tuti coloro che saranno connexi a questo corpo per influxo di la virtù de la satisfaction che ha fato el capo nostro, potrà con poccha fatiga sperar di satisfar i suo' peccati...'; '...in croce con le bracie aperte et con el pecto aperto in fin al core...'; 'Non dormirò adonque io securo, benchè sia in mezo la città, benchè non satisfaci al debito che ho contracto, havendo io tal pagatore del mio debito? Veramente dormirò et vegierò cusì securo come se tuto el tempo di la vita mia fosse stado ne l'Heremo, con proposito di non mi lassar mai da tal apozo'. *C. und C.* Letter no.2 (24 April 1511) 64.

[111] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge, 1991) 302-06.

[112] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the religious significance of food to medieval women* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987) 271-2, plate 25.

soldier who had wounded Christ (with whom Querini possibly identified Egnazio), to staunch the flow of blood from wounds.[113]

Tommaso Giustiniani's choice of the eremitic life had been closely connected with his experience of the redemptive powers of Christ: '...who opened his Holy arms on the wooden cross in order to embrace, and not only his arms, but his flank to his heart opened to accept me to his heart, if I would wish to love him more than human things'.[114] Giustiniani was convinced that he could reach their 'eternal blessed homeland' by means of the 'merits of Jesus Christ, and not by my works'.[115] He declared that he could not live in the world, and that he was not able fight his many enemies.[116] However, despite the willingness of his friend 'messer Niccolò' to follow him into Sa Giustina as a monk because it had a more supportable way of life than that of the hermitage, Giustiniani chose a life of complete solitude.[117] It has recently been noted that one quarter (fifteen) of foundations of *Scuole del Santissimo Sacramento* in Venice date from 1506-07 and that forty-one were founded before 1524. These foundations expressed a new fear of the Devil (rather than death) in their statutes and a striking belief in the redemptive powers of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The language of one such preamble resembles the statements of Querini, Giustiniani, and Contarini:

> To the praise and glory of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen. We brothers have considered on many occasions that human nature, which is formed in the image and likeness of God, has no higher duty than that which it has towards the Omnipotent Creator, and its Redeemer, who wished to save us from the clutches of the Devil, and wished to offer Himself as a hostage and sacrifice on the wood of the Cross. And moreover, with the greatest love and charity, He wished to give Himself to us as food, to be a greater testimony and witness of His most holy passion, giving us His most holy body to eat and His most precious blood to drink, as in His Last Supper, by His witness with brotherly love, He revealed to His dear disciples before He tasted the harsh passion of the most cruel and bitter death on the Cross, through which we have been saved from the clutches of the Devil, and purchased with His most precious blood, as Holy Scripture says: I have bought this at a great price, that is with the

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[113] Rubin (1991) 305. In a letter of 1 August 1510, Querini wrote of the desire of two youths 'Lusco' and 'Longino' to join the hermitage: AC IX, coll. 463-5. Writing several years later, Giustiniani noted that: 'et qualche volta sotto nome de longino il quirino, et lusco lo egnatio, et F. fuscario F. paulo troverai nominati: il che si facea tutti per che, se le lettere state da altri vedute, non si intendesse i suoi secretti pensieri'. Quoted in *TLF* I, 120. Longinus may also refer to the Greek philosopher of the sublime. 'Lusco' may be a play on the Latin word for one-eyed, indicating Querini's own sense of his spiritual blindness.

[114] '...che apriva sul legno della Croce le sue sante braccia per abbracciarmi, e non pur le braccia, ma il fianco fino al cuore avea aperto per accettarmi nel petto suo, se io vorrò amare più lui, che le cose umane'. Letter of December, 1510 from Giustiniani to all of his friends *AC* IX, coll.467-96: 475.

[115] 'eterna beata patria'; 'meriti della passione di Gesucristo, e non per le opere mie'. *Ibid.* col. 476.

[116] 'combattere a fronte a fronte con molti nemici'. *Ibid.* col. 481.

[117] *Ibid.* col. 479.

> most holy blood of the untainted lamb on our behalf submitting even to death in order to give us His realm of eternal life.[118]

The host was publicly paraded through the piazza and basilica S. Marco in the Corpus Christi procession which was established in Venice in 1407. This huge procession involved all of the *scuole* of Venice, as well as the members of the government, and was founded 'for the reverence of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ and for the honor of the fatherland'.[119] Contarini later noted that a highly venerated crystal vessel containing some of the blood of Christ was lodged in the basilica of S. Marco.[120] Eucharistic devotion was therefore a striking instance of the connection between 'private' spirituality and 'civic' religion and politics.

In his next letter Contarini described how his spirit was often oppressed by his concern in the world with his friends and family. The truth which he had sometimes glimpsed had been obscured. He wished to overcome the weakness of his soul and find 'a middle way'.[121] In his subsequent letter Contarini continued his search for a middle way, a way which would let him live with the minimum of perturbation. He had therefore decided to put the rest of his life '...in the hand of that infinite goodness and in that alone to hope that I am shown the passage through this rapid torrent...' He added:

> You know much better than I that, although the contemplative life is more noble than the active yet the active, which drives us to aid our neighbour in the spiritual life, is of greater merit than the contemplative, and from greater charity towards God proceeds the wish sometimes to deprive oneself of the sweetness of contemplation of his loved one, so that the glory of his beloved is in more ways manifested, and knowing that this is most pleasing

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[118] 'A Laude, et gloria della Santissima Trinitade Padre, Fiolo, et Spirito Santo. Amen. Havendo considerato piu volte noi Fratelli che nessuna mazor obligation ha la humana natura, la qual e formata all imagine, e similitudine di Dio, quanto ha ad esso Omnipotente Creatore, et Redemptore suo, el qual ne volse redimere dalle man dal Demonio, che si instesso se volle offerir in hostia, et sacrificio suso el Legno della Croce, et ancora con grandissimo amore, e Carità volse donarsi a noi in cibo, a mazor fede, et Testimonianza della sua santissima Passione dandone a sumere el suo santissimo Corpo et a bevere el suo preciosissimo sangue, come nella ultima sua cena per suo Testamento caritativamente dimostro alli suoi cari discipuli, avanti che el gustasse el duro passo della crudelissima, et acerba morte della Crose, mediante la quale nui semo sta recuperati delle man del Demonio, e comprati con el suo preciosissimo sangue, come dice la santa scriptura: empti estis pretio magno, cioè con lo santissimo sangue dello immaculato agnello fatto obbediente per noi fin alla morte per donarne el suo reame de vita eterna'. Quoted by Richard Mackenney, 'Continuity and change in the *scuole piccole* of Venice, c.1250-c.1600', *Renaissance Studies* 8/4 (1994) 388-403: 395-96 n.25. The statistics of foundations are given *ibid.* 396. The scriptural passage seems to be a misquotation of Revelation 12.11. On Corpus Christi or Sacrament confraternities elsewhere in Italy see Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989) 29-30, 96-100.

[119] Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, N.J., 1981) 223-4. The *Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista* processed to the basilica of St Mark to visit the blood of Christ at the feast of Corpus Christi: see Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe. La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale* (Venice, 1996) 151-2.

[120] 'Nos Venetiis in templo D. Marci vase ex crystallo confecto habemus huius sanguinis portionem, & maxima veneratione colimus'. *Opera* 562.

[121] 'uno modo medio'. *C. und C.* Letter no.3 (10 August 1511) 66.

> to his beloved. As Paul says: "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh" [Romans 9.3].[122]

In his letters to Querini he argued that there was more than one way of salvation, and if God had called on Querini to serve him among the people, however noxious to him this was, he would have had to accept this vocation: 'because true love does not seek its own convenience but Christ's pleasure'. Living in a cell would have been more pleasant for Paul than his constant travelling. Personally, Contarini believed that:

> ...for neither the way of solitude, nor the way of Religion is a sure one, nor is the life of the city a sure way to perdition; but in all of them there are ways to arrive at salvation or perdition; and so we must judge that, by the most wise Creator of the Universe, to different men have been given different ways to arrive at a single end: that is, salvation. But each one of us, being blind, is ignorant of which way is his own. Therefore, all our thought should be directed to praying the Divine Goodness to guide us along our path; nor must we, in our souls, cling obstinately to one way as if it were certainly ours; for such an obstinacy of mind does not accord with having placed ourselves - in all and for all - in the hand of God, that He may guide.

Querini should not dismiss any thoughts of a life other than of solitude as diabolical temptations. Contarini and his friends would have to content themselves with desiring what was best for Querini and pleasing to God although he most desired Querini to join them and live in solitude in the midst of the city. But if God desired it otherwise they would have to be content with Querini's absence.[123] Contarini's letter of the following December recapitulated and expanded these themes and it led Giustiniani to add an annotation describing it as: 'capital and manifest reasons against the religious life which favour the secular life'. Contarini argued that Querini's choice had caused his family and friends much pain. The solitary life was one lived through the intellect alone and not through the senses. Contarini feared that, like Basil, Querini would not be physically capable of sustaining such a life. He noted that the senses were difficult to

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[122] '...star in quiete over in poccha perturbation'.; '...ne le man de quella sola sperar che mi monstra el varco di questo rapido torrente...'; 'Ben sapeti melgio [sic] di me che, benchè la vita contemplativa sia più nobile de la activa, pur la vita activa, la qual versa ne l'adiuvar el proximo ne la vita spiritual, è più meritoria de la contemplativa, et da magior charità verso Dio procede el voler qualche volta privar sè de la dolceza de la contemplation del suo amato, aziochè la gloria del suo dilecto sia in più modi al suo poter manifestata, et cognoscendo che questo è di precipuo apiacer al suo dilecto. Unde Paulo dice: *Cupio anathema fieri pro fratribus*'. *Ibid.* Letter no.4 (22 September 1511) 68-9.

[123] '...perchè la vera charità non cercha la commodità sua ma el piacer de Iesu Christo.'; '...non essendo nè via de solitudine, nè via de Religion certa, nè etiam la vita civil certa de perditione, ma in tute essendo modo di pervenir a salute et a perdition, devemo iudicare che da quel sapientissimo opifice de l'universo a diversi homeni sian state date diverse vie de pervegnir ad uno termine, zoè a la salute. Ma ciaschadun de nui essendo cieco, non cognosse qual è la sua. Per tanto tuto el pensier nostro debbe esser drizato in pregar la bontà divina che ne guidi nel nostro sentier; nè devemo con l'animo nostro obstinarse in una via come quella sia certa la nostra, perchè tal obstination de animo non sta insieme con haverse in tuto et per tuto messo ne le man de Dio che ne guidi'. *Ibid.* Letter no.5 (November, 1511) 70.

drive out when contemplating God and, as St Augustine had said, we should venerate and love God in our neighbours, where we naturally incline by our imperfection to find Him. Contarini noted that 'gran perfection' could be the enemy of human nature, since so many people were unsuited to it; and therefore it was much better for those people to follow the secular life, although mediocre. The following of the solitary life could be worse than that of the secular life, leading to melancholy or death, and he added that Querini had a duty to the 'povera vechia' (presumably his grandmother) who had helped him in his youth.[124] Contarini, while pointing out the difficulties of the solitary life for some, was obliged to accept Querini's choice in his letter of March 1512. However, the possibility of Querini's service to the Church as cardinal reanimated some of the arguments in the summer of 1514.

At the same time as he was reasoning with his friends about the difficulties of the solitary life, Contarini expressed his own sense of failure in the pursuit of a spiritual life. This failure was expressed by Contarini's unhappiness with his inability to move from the study of the pagan authors to holy scripture. He realized that a life in the city was best for him, and that some way of salvation was open to him through the passion of Christ, but his struggle to merit salvation involved rising above his 'bitterness' [125] and accepting that he could rise to a higher grade while at the same time remaining content with his 'bassezza.'[126] Thus, he wrote to Giustiniani in April, 1513:

> Now I know that I am a man not only separated from the mass of people, as I believed, but even the lowest of the people; and I live in this sort of humble and low life which is not to be compared - I do not say with yours, but even with that of most people in the world - I give myself to human studies and I take from these some enjoyment knowing and seeing that my weak stomach is not sufficient to digest the solid fare of sacred writing [Hebrews 5.14], waiting for the divine light - and it is from that light I know even this waiting - when it pleases Him, to enlighten me, and to cause that which is truly sweet in itself may appear sweet also to me, and not bitter, as it has seemed to me until now.[127]

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[124] 'Ragioni capitoli et manifeste contra la vita religiosa che apriano et propongino la secolar vita'.; 'Chè molto meglio per loro serìa stato se i fosseno stati al seculo con li altri in una vita mediocre, ch'a che loro havessono affectato questa cusì grande perfection'. *Ibid.* Letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 72, note to line 18; 74.

[125] *Ibid.* Letter no.12 (20 April 1513) 89.

[126] *Ibid.* Letter no.14 (13 June 1514) 94.

[127] 'Hor cognosco che io son homo non solum separato dal vulgo, come io me credeva, immo, il più infimo del vulgo; et vivome in questa sorte di vita humile et bassa nè da esser comparata non dico a la vostra ma a quella dil forzo de' saeculari, dandome a studii humani et di quelli prendendo qualche spasso cognoscendo et vedendo che el stomacho mio debile non è sufficiente di digerir quel solido cibo de le sacre lettere, aspetando che il divino lume, dal quale etiam cognosco questa expectation, quando a lui piacia, me illumi et facia che quel che veramente è in sè dolce, a me etiam parà dolce, non amaro, come fin hora mi è paruto'. *Ibid.* Letter no.12 (20 April 1513) 89.

In September 1511 he wrote to Giustiniani that he hoped to complete his 'studii humani' in a few months and move on to others: '...which I have always intended to undertake'.[128] In December 1511 he wrote to Querini that having finished Ptolemy he had begun the books of Solomon on account of their superior morality, and Proverbs which he found to be an excellent book. His aim as he said, was: 'Thus, for my pleasure, seeking to leave all my accustomed anxiety in studying, I go beyond and see, not in order to learn and to know, as principal end, but in order to amend my life and to inflame my most cold heart'.[129]

However, by the following February, while he accepted Giustiniani's exhortation that human perfection consisted in the recognition and love of the 'summo Bene' nevertheless he felt that his 'bassezza' prevented him from following the monastic life or reading sacred scripture. Reading scripture and its mystical interpretation had resulted in a melancholy humour and the disturbance of his mind. Yet he continued to read the gospels of St Matthew, St Gregory, and St Augustine:

> And in the last analysis it seems to me that, as I am not suited to such height, there has been placed in my soul an inclination that descends, and that now by that morality, which the philosophers have seen with a natural light, and which is also a great gift of God, I must be content, and content myself with the lower speculation of philosophies and theologians who only teach; that is, St Thomas.[130]

In his next letter he declared that while reasoning with Giustiniani in his letters was pleasant, it was even more pleasing to Christ because there was no truer temple of God than the human intellect.[131] In July, 1512 he outlined how he had planned since 1509 to study human philosophy followed by Christian doctrine: '...and thereby to spend my life peacefully in fear of God'. Therefore, during the previous two years he had studied mathematics together with the theology of Aquinas. Contarini and his friends had passed over some matters of philosophy. Yet such studies and Holy scripture now upset him and no longer did scripture give him consolation, and he asked his friends to pray to Christ for him as their true 'mediator'. Contarini hoped to overcome his fears in contemplation of the 'summa dolcezza' and even if he did not attain the

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[128] 'ne li quali ho proposto di versar sempre'. *Ibid.* Letter no.4 (22 September 1511) 68.
[129] 'Et cusì, per mio piacer, cercando di lassar in tuto la mia solita anxietade nel studio, son per andar dietro a vedendo, non per imparar et per sapper, come principal fin, ma per emendar la mia vita et per accender questo mio frigidissimo pecto'. *Ibid.* Letter no.7 (26 December 1511) 75.
[130] '...humore melancholico et perturbation grande ne l'animo mi...'; 'Et a l'ultimo mi pare che, come non degno di tanta altezza, mi habbi posto una inclinatione in el animo che discenda, et che per adeso di quella moralità, la qual li philosophi hanno vista con el lume naturale, el qual è etiam dono grande di Dio, mi debba contentare, et in quelle speculatione basse de philosophi et theologi, che solum insegnano, zioè di sancto Thomaso, mi debba contentare'. *Ibid.* Letter no.8 (26 February 1512) 77.
[131] '...niuno è più vero tempio de Dio de l'intellecto humano...' *Ibid.* Letter no.9 (10 March 1512) 83.

singlemindedness of the most perfect, who taste the highest sweetness, nevertheless he believed 'that his goodness will deign to inflame my heart and overcome every vain fear, every disturbance and make my spirit clear, limpid, constant, and strong'.[132] In his subsequent letter he noted that he hoped to find repose by understanding that any good is not sufficient in itself, but is to be attributed to Christ. In his difficulties with Holy Scripture he needed a divine light to make what was bitter, sweet. [133]

By November, 1513, he had returned to his studies with his friends and he sought to appease his spirit in its 'bassezza' since ascent was denied to him. Thus, he had begun Augustine's *De Trinitate* as well as Plato's *Republic*, and although he described himself as being in a Dantean 'profunda valle' (as it might seem to his friends) yet he was enjoying music and the company of friends and had to content himself with his 'bassezza'.[134] The subsequent two letters to Querini made it clear that Contarini had come to accept that he lived in a state of 'bassezza' and he even suggested, partly in an attempt to encourage Querini to accept the cardinal's hat, that too much love of God might be perverse[135], and argued that :

> ...He [i.e. God] disposes, by hidden but just judgements, our human affairs, and the actions of various men of various stations; of these, some are very high, some middling, others lowly; but each of them, when they are accepted with a humble soul, result in the good of the one who accepts it, and also in the good of the universe first created by His Majesty - all this consoles me, and I am content with this most lowly station, placing my hope not in the strength of my soul, nor in my actions, as I did before, but only 'under the shadow of his wings' [Psalms 17.8] to arrive one day at a slightly higher level of life, and not enveloped in a thousand errors as I am now. So with these hopes I pass the time.[136]

Contarini's hope for salvation and tranquillity in the city were centred on the pope and his expectations for Leo X were outlined to Querini.[137]

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[132] '...et in quella con quiete passar in timor di Dio li mei anni'.; '...et in quella con quiete passar in timor di Dio li mei anni'.; '...riveder qualche cosa de philosophia'.; 'che la sua bontà se degnerà di racender questo mio core et scacierà ogni vana paura, ogni intranquillità et farammi uno animo chiaro, limpido, constante et forte'. *Ibid.* Letter no.11 (17 July 1512) 87-8.

[133] *Ibid.* Letter no.12 (20 April 1513) 89.

[134] *Ibid.* Letter no.13 (26 November 1513) 92.

[135] *Ibid.* Letter no.14 (13 June 1514) 94.

[136] '...per oculti ma iusti iudicii dispone le cose nostre humane et le actioni de' diversi homeni a diversi gradi, de li quali alguni sono altissimi, alguni mediocri et alguni bassi, li quali però tuti, quando che con animo humile sono aceptati, risultano et in bene di coloro che li aceptano et etiam in bene de l'universo primo effecto de sua Magiestà, tuto mi consolo et contentome di questo grado humillimo, sperando non con mie forze di animo, non con mie l'actione, come già me credeva, ma solum sub umbra alarum suarum una volta pervenire a qualche più alto grado di viver, non cusì involto in mille errori come è hora. Et cusì con questa speranza passo el tempo'. *Ibid.* Letter no.15 (11 July 1514) 97.

[137] *Ibid.* Letter no.14 (13 June 1514) 94.

There are clear affinities between the spiritual language and thought of Contarini and Querini. This is certainly more surprising and revealing than one would expect in the letters between two friends with a common background and inclination. The newly examined letters of Querini show that he by no means despised civil life. Like Contarini, he saw some salutary merit in it for those who were suited to it. However, like Contarini he undoubtedly regarded the solitary monastic life as forming a superior stage of contemplation of the divine and as a way of drawing nearer to a full intellectual and spiritual understanding of Christ's redemptive power. The question of why one man remained faithful to the active life while the other embraced the contemplative therefore should be considered. Querini, in fact, did not entirely abandon the active life. Contarini's hopes for the election of Leo X as the beginning of the renewal of Christendom were widely shared. The election probably provoked the hermits' proposals for reform presented at the Fifth Lateran Council. In addition, Querini undertook a further diplomatic mission to Leo's court in Rome which brought him fairly close to being elevated to the cardinalate. The weight of evidence from the years suggests that Querini entertained some ecclesiastical ambitions which would have brought him to Rome either in a permanent or a temporary way.

Chapter 3

Vincenzo Querini. Florence, Camaldoli, and Reform

i. The hermits and the *piagnoni*

Vincenzo Querini's decision to join Tommaso Giustiniani at the hermitage at Camaldoli in September 1511, marked the beginning of the final turbulent period in his life. During this period he struggled to reform the Camaldolese Order, proposed the reform of the Catholic Church and the Christian renewal of the entire known world, and faced the choice between continuing as a hermit and accepting a cardinal's hat. It was almost inevitable that his proposals for the reform and renewal of Christendom should have failed to have had any significant impact in the circumstances of the papal *dispensatio*, and that he died unhappily entangled in the political intrigues of Leonine Rome. However, the ideals to which he aspired were shared by some of his contemporaries in Florence, Venice, and Rome. It is clear that during the first two decades of the sixteenth century it was possible for Catholics to pay serious attention to the spiritual implications of widespread prophetic currents which fuelled expectations of a political and religious conjunction which would favour Christian unity and peace in Europe and the rest of the world. Venice was certainly not immune to these currents, but it was the hermits' contact with Florence, and particularly the spiritual descendants of Savonarola there, that is most striking.

The hermits' *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513) was not a work of weighty scriptural exegesis, but rather an effort to suggest a practical means for the reform of the Church. Denys Hay has commented that in this they 'have no comparable predecessors north or south of the Alps in their bitter denunciations of abuse and corruption'. They aimed to reform not only the papacy but Christendom itself.[1] The *Libellus* should be viewed in the context of the proposals for reform evinced by the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17), and of the hermits' own attempts to effect a reform in the structure and morals of the Camaldolese Order during 1512-14.[2] Reference to

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[1] Denys Hay, 'Religion North and South: Christendom and the Alps on the Eve of the Reformation', in *Società, politica e cultura a Carpi ai tempi di Alberto III Pio. Atti del convegno internazionale (Carpi, 19-21 maggio 1978)* 2 vols., (Padua, 1981) I, 189-206: 201. This article is reprinted in *idem*, *Renaissance Essays* (London and Ronceverte, 1988) ch. 16.

[2] Perhaps Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, his Banker, and Venice* (London, 1980) ch. VI is correct to emphasize the blow dealt to the spiritual authority of the papacy by Julius II's secular entanglements. A harangue against Julius II published in Venice in 1509 accuses him of causing spiritual turmoil by his secular policies. See the 'Lettera fenta che Iesu Cristo la manda a Iulio papa II in questo anno 1509 [Dated 26 December 1509]', in Sanudo IX, coll. 567-70 (27 February 1510). Erasmus' *Julius Exclusus*

both of these endeavours cannot be made without considering the *milieu* of the hermits and their supporters which showed a marked common concern for spiritual and temporal renewal which was, in some cases, drawn from pro-Savonarolan (*piagnone*) sentiments, and in others from a reforming zeal derived from humanist and scriptural studies. Before considering the reforms of the order and the *Libellus* therefore it is necessary to identify the Camaldolese monks and friars, and important Florentine figures who supported the hermits.

Querini fell ill at Camaldoli soon after his arrival there and he returned to Florence to recover in December, 1511. He wrote to Giustiniani:

> Yesterday, after so many travails we were at Florence; but before I entered there [i.e. the Camaldolese monastery of Sa Maria degli Angeli] I saw things miraculous to my eyes, those palaces and monasteries, that are to be seen around the city, which seemed very beautiful yesterday and today... [3]

A fortnight later he wrote:

> I am now very happy in the [monastery of the] Angeli. I have seen [all] that I can see, and by all I am so greatly welcomed, and by the *grandi* of this city so honoured, that is by the bishop, by Antonio Pucci, [and] by many learned gentlemen, so much so that I grow proud.[4]

Besides the Archbishop of Florence, Cosimo de' Pazzi, and Antonio Pucci, whom he mentions here, Querini was also in contact with Francesco Boni; 'frate Zenobio'; 'Don Bernardo'[5]; and probably Alessandro de' Pazzi, whose letter of condolence to Giustiniani on Querini's death was full of praise and admiration for the hermit.[6] In addition, Querini noted that: 'The monastery of the Angels has satisfied me marvellously; and if I had been inside the enclosure, as before, it would have satisfied me even more'.[7] Giustiniani had stayed at the monastery of Sa Maria degli Angeli in April 1511.[8] Although relatively small, the monastery was embellished with Brunelleschi's fine classical rotunda (now part of the University of Florence) and,

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is a trenchant and witty attack on Julius II's secularism and immorality which can still be read with pleasure.

[3] 'Jeri dopo tante cose male fossimo a Firenze; ma innanzi che vi entrassi, vidi cose agli occhj miei miracolose, que' palazzi, e monasteri, che si vedono intorno la città, la quale e pur jeri ed oggi mi è paruta molto bella...' *AC* IX, col.524

[4] 'Io sto qui negli Angeli ora benissimo. Ho veduto quello si può vedere, e da tutti sono tanto accarezzato, e dalli grandi di questa città si onorato, cioè dal vescovo, da messer Antonio Pucci, da molti gentiluomini dotti, che talor m'insuperbisco'. *Ibid.* coll.530-31.

[5] *Ibid.* coll. 524-25.

[6] *Ibid.* col.589.

[7] 'Il monastero degli Angeli mi ha mirabilmente soddisfatto; e se'l fosse in clausura, come prima, m'avria soddisfatto ancor più'. *Ibid.* col.524.

[8] *Ibid.* coll.513-14.

more significantly for the hermits' religious concerns, was situated close to the monastery of S. Marco which continued to act as the centre of *piagnone* activity.[9]

In addition to the men mentioned here, Querini came into contact with the prominent Florentines Giovanni Corsi and Francesco da Diacceto. The hermit was one of the dedicatees of translations of Plutarch made by Corsi during 1512-13 (the others were Palla Rucellai, Francesco da Diacceto, and Francesco Vettori). Corsi chose to dedicate to Querini a work by Plutarch which was concerned with solitary life and in a preface he recalled a discourse he had had with Querini before he had entered Camaldoli and in which he had cited the authority of Plutarch. He sent the translation to Querini soon after the latter's departure from Florence in February, 1512. Interestingly enough, Plutarch's work is concerned with persuading men against entering a life of solitude.[10] Like Francesco da Diacceto, his principal teacher (and later a friend of Contarini), Corsi was concerned to bring Platonic and Aristotelian traditions together to emphasize the importance of participation in public life.

Diacceto himself was in correspondence with Querini from 1503 until the hermit's death in 1514.[11] In a letter of 1503 Diacceto expressed his admiration for Plato and his intention to revive his doctrine which was badly neglected by most contemporaries. He respected Aristotle and the good peripatetics of antiquity, but was ready to fight against those modern philosophers who wrongly called themselves peripatetics. In a second letter of ca.1512-14 Diacceto discussed first motion. He argued that Heaven was the instrument of the soul, and that the motion of heaven transmitted into matter the images of the concepts received from the soul.[12] Both Diacceto and Corsi were to be associated with the political and literary discussions of the *Orti Oricellari* which have been associated with the development of an anti-

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[9] Eugenio Battista, *Brunelleschi. The complete work* (London, 1981) 249ff.

[10] The ms is in BNF, cod. Magliab. II IV 192 (=Magliab. VIII 1400) ff.136r-143v. The incipit runs: 'Plutarchi Cheronei An recte dictum Dum vivis late, ad Vincentium Quirinum Patritium Venetum. Inc Atneque ipse qui hoc dixit latere voluit'. f.137. The dedication is printed in P. O. Kristeller, 'Un uomo di Stato e umanista fiorentino: Giovanni Corsi', *La Bibliofilia* XXXVIII (1936) 242-57: 255. See also a later version of this article, in *idem., Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* 3 vols., (Rome, 1956-93) I, ch.8: 180-82.

[11] For Diacceto's letters to Querini see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Fondo Rossiano. Ross. 423 (I X 113) ff.51r-51v; BCF Naz. II III 210, f.352; *TLF* I, 47 (8 March 1512), 135 (24 January 1513), 135 (27 January 1513), and 141 (7 July 1514). Diacceto also wrote to Giustiniani about Querini's death: *TLF* I, 139 (3 February 1515). Note also a letter of 9 April 1512 from Cosimo de' Pazzi, Archbishop of Florence, to the hermits in which he mentions 'Diacetus' and 'Cursius': *TLF* I, 123.

[12] *Opera omnia Francisci Catanei Diacetii Patritii Fiorentini Philosophi summi nunc primum in lucem edita* (Basel, 1563) 330, 359. See also P. O. Kristeller, 'Francesco da Diacceto and Florentine Platonism in the Sixteenth Century', in *idem.* (1956-93) I, 287-336: especially 314, 317.

Medicean or relatively less restricted aristocratic republicanism on the model of Venice.[13]

Many of the other Florentines mentioned in Querini's letters were associated with the Dominican monastery of S. Marco in Florence, and they all appear to have shared a common spiritual outlook. The poet Girolamo Benivieni (1453-1542), who was one of the intellectuals associated with Giovanni Pico, was attracted to Savonarolan ideas of reform, and he translated many of Savonarola's works into Latin or Italian, and acted as a publicist for Savonarola. By 1500 his approach was less mystical and more reform-minded, although he was later to hail Leo X as the Angelic Pope who would lead the Church into a new age, and Galeotto de' Medici wrote in December, 1514 decrying his 'piangnoneria'.[14]

As late as 1530 Benivieni could write to Clement VII noting that Savonarola's core prophecies were still relevant.[15] Benivieni believed that the soul's ultimate union with God depended not upon the development through contemplative means, of its inner spiritual resources, but on the fulfilment of Savonarolan reforming ideals. When he learnt from fellow-*piagnone* Francesco Boni that Giustiniani had entered the Camaldolese Order, he wrote to him on 15 January 1511 to praise his act of giving up the honours which would accrue to one of his homeland and nobility for the austerity of the hermitage and the treasures of heaven. Following Christ in this way Giustiniani was comparable to an angel: 'For what is a monk but the angelic order and state made perfect in a material and unclean body?'[16] In return, Giustiniani urged Benivieni to complete an Italian translation of the Bible.

Paolo Orlandini was one of many members of the Camaldolese Order in Florence who were sympathetic to the *piagnoni*, and who were associated with Querini and Giustiniani and their reforms. He took his vows as a Camaldolese monk at the monastery of Sa Maria degli Angeli, Florence in 1488.[17] Since the time that Ambrogio Traversari had begun a study of patristics and theology using humanist

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[13] On the *Orti Oricellari* see Felix Gilbert, 'Bernardo Rucellai and the *Orti Oricellari*: a study on the origin of modern political thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949) 101-31; Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli antichi e altri saggi* (Milan and Naples, 1987) ch.V.

[14] Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: the Savonarolan movement in Florence, 1494-1545* (Oxford, 1994) ch.4, 275; Marjorie Reeves (ed.) *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period* (Oxford, 1992) 25, 342.

[15] Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969) 439.

[16] 'Nam quid aliud est monachus quam ordo et status angelicus in corpore materiali et sordido consumatus?' in Olga Zorzi Pugliese, 'Girolamo Benivieni: umanista riformatore (dalla corrispondenza inedita)', *La Bibliofilia* LXXII (1970) 253-88: (272-74: text of letter), 273.

[17] On Orlandini see Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence : prophecy and patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1970) 362-71.

methods there in the first half of the fifteenth century, the monastery had been in decline. The abbot Guido da Settimo won Lorenzo de' Medici over to his scheme to transfer the house to the Cistercian Order, but Pietro Delfin resisted any such moves until the revolution of 1494 removed the Medici from power. After 1494, Orlandini embraced the piety of Dominican S. Marco but meeting Delfin's renewed resistance he composed the *Concordatio seu compositio quaedam super quibusdam Scripturae Sacrae locis* (1496). This work arose from a discussion which took place in the monastery in July, 1496 when Orlandini was reproved for his preference for profane letters, especially philosophy, over sacred letters.

In this work Orlandini discussed the rival demands of philosophical and scriptural learning and resolved the conflict in favour of the latter.[18] As a member of Ficinian circles, he inveighed against astrology and argued that future contingencies could be ascertained only by divine revelation and by the confluence of informed opinions. Therefore, in the prediction of the future he gave a key role to the prophets of the Old Testament. He wrote a poem on Savonarola in July 1500, and was pro-Savonarolan at least until the early 1500's, sentiments apparently shared by other Camaldolese in Florence.[19] Delfin, who had acted and written against Savonarola in the 1490's and of whose involvement in politics he disapproved, may have driven Orlandini to ask for permission to retire to the hermitage at Camaldoli - a request which Delfin refused.[20] Orlandini later renounced Savonarola and attacked him in a treatise of 1516. He served as prior of Sa Maria degli Angeli in 1503 and 1513, and as Vice-General of the order.

Orlandini, Querini and Giustiniani obtained a bull from Leo X in 1513 authorizing the re-organization of the Camaldolese Order, strictly curtailing the General's power over the individual houses. According to one recent assessment, Orlandini was following notions of reform according to Savonarolan ideals but effected from within existing

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[18] MS BNF Magl. XL, 45. *Loc. cit.* Polizzotto (1994) 150, n.57.

[19] Weinstein (1970) 366 and n.156. In a letter to Fra Bartolomeo da Faenza dated 9 July 1507, Ugolino Verino discussed the Savonarolan beliefs of Girolamo de Novati, Camaldolese monk and prior of San Salvator, Verona: *AC* VII, 393-95. Verino was a friend of Orlandini: Polizzotto (1994)150 & n. For the text and dating of Orlandini's poem to Savonarola see Eugenio Garin, 'Paolo Orlandini e il profeta Francesco da Meleto' 213-23 in *idem, La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano* (Florence, 1961) 222. I have been unable to consult B. Ignesti, 'I Camaldolesi e il Savonarola' *Camaldoli* VI (1952) 138-46.

[20] On Delphin's polemic against Savonarola see *Petri Delphini, nobilis Veneti, Generalis Camaldulensi Dialogus in Hieronymum Ferrariensum*, which is printed in Joseph Schnitzer, *Peter Delfin General des Camaldulenserordens (1444-1525)* (Munich, 1926) 366-99. For Delfin's admonishment of Orlandini in May, 1502 see E. Martène and Dom. U. Durand (eds.) *Veterum Scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, Amplissima collectio.* 9 vols., (Paris, 1724-33) (Hereafter referred to as *VS*) III, coll. 1163-64. See also Polizzotto (1994) 152-53.

structures.[21] In addition, Orlandini wrote against prognostication, prophecy based upon scripture, astrology, and divinatory arts in general. His treatise *Liber satyricus de noticia futurorum contra astrologos* (Book VI of his *Eptathicum*) echoes the hermits' condemnation of such practices in the *Libellus*. He continued to view prophecy in scripture as the evidence of divine revelation, and the prophet as someone who understood what these revelations meant. But he was more critical of those who gave specific terms and dates to prophetic passages.

In March and April, 1516 Giustiniani was in correspondence with Paolo Orlandini, and the prophet Francesco da Meleto, about the examination of Savonarolan ideas which was to take place at the Florentine Synod at the instigation of Leo X. Orlandini had condemned Meleto's writings in his work against false prophets of 3 January 1516, on the grounds of a careful literal reading of scripture. He argued that nothing could be proven from the figures, portents, and parables which Meleto had used as the basis of his predictions of Church renewal in 1517 and then 1530. However, Orlandini accepted, after Ficino, the legitimacy of portents if they were interpreted by the right men. He also vigorously re-asserted papal plenitude of power, even over councils. Giustiniani had urged him to publish this work and Querini may have read it when Meleto first came to his attention.[22] Querini himself called Francesco da Meleto to Rome and there the prophet lodged with Pietro Bembo and was presented to Leo X who was interested in his prophecies.[23] In 1519 Orlandini and Giustiniani were again connected in an action against the prophet Don Teodoro. The latter was an erstwhile Camaldolese friar who was eventually sent to the galleys for his self-promotion as Angelic Pope, and for his claim that he received direct revelations from Savonarola and that he had the power to perform miracles.[24]

Orlandini prepared the authoritative Latin edition of his writings in 1519 and dedicated it to Antonio Pucci.[25] A piece of writing directed against astrologers comparable to his work against Meleto is dedicated to Domenico Morosini, a Venetian collector of prophetic manuscripts.[26] Morosini is known to have been

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[21] Polizzotto (1994) 149-53. Note Weinstein (1970) 367-68 n.162 : 'For Orlandini's letter of February 6, 1515, to Quirini in Rome, asking for further protection for Santa Maria degli Angeli against Delfin, see MS BLF Conventi Soppressi 525, fols. 38-39'. As Querini died in Rome on 29 September 1514 there is some difficulty with the attribution of the recipient, particularly as Querini did not arrive in Rome until the beginning of March, 1514. In February, 1513 he was, of course, in Florence.

[22] Polizzotto (1994) 292ff. Weinstein (1970) 386-87, n.124.

[23] Nelson H. Minnich, 'Prophecy and the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517)', in Reeves (1992b) ch.4, 76-77; Garin (1961); and Polizzotto (1994) 292, n.235 on Meleto and Benivieni.

[24] Polizzotto (1994) 276-90.

[25] BNF Naz. II, I, 158 *loc. cit.* Garin (1961) 213.

[26] The *Eptatico* at Laur. Ashb. App. 1875 contains his 'in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Virginis Marie gloriose et Sanctissimi Prioris nostri Romualdi incipit Liber Satyricus contra astrologos, et est Eptathici nostri opus sextem' *loc. cit ibid.*, 215. The ms is dated 20 October 1514 at the monastery of

interested in prophecy from about 1455, and he possessed a *Liber de magnis tribulationibus*, attributed to Telesphorus of Cosenza.[27] He also possessed a vernacular *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*. One of his correspondents was the Camaldolese General Pietro Delfin. In a letter from Florence at the beginning of July 1495 to a monk Girolamo, Delfin reported the visit of Zanobi Acciaiuoli. He brought prophetic manuscripts for Delfin to read. Amongst them was a *vaticinium* about a future Angelic Pope.[28] This reminded Delfin that Morosini possessed a 'papalista' about the Angelic Pope which he had urged Delfin to study. Therefore, Delfin asked Girolamo to seek out and transcribe the book.

Another 'conservative' *piagnone* in touch with Querini was Fra Vincenzo Mainardi da S. Gemignano.[29] Fra Vincenzo was a friar of S. Marco who was well-known for his classical learning, but who had a mediocre knowledge of Scripture. He preached regularly to synods of the Tusco-Roman Congregation, and moved to Rome permanently after Leo X's election in 1513. He attributed the ills of the Church to the decline of learning and the abandonment of virtues such as humility and charity. He criticized the clergy, but spared the papacy and the Dominicans. He praised Thomas Aquinas and Fra Antonio Pierozzi and their reforms of more effective preaching, and he argued that the pretensions of profane learning, especially astrology, classical poetry, and philosophy had to be rejected in favour of proper study in order to induce Christians to believe that salvation could be found only in Christ.[30]

Querini's contact with Fra Vincenzo can be established from a letter he wrote in September 1512 to Fra Tommaso 'Stoccio' (i.e. Strozzi) at S. Marco in Florence. Querini urged Strozzi, who had written to Giustiniani the previous January, to become a hermit.[31] Querini advised Strozzi to communicate via 'nostro Francesco Boni' or by the prior of S. Benedetto. He noted that '...by the same path we have already agreed with your Gianmaria Canesani, who is worthy to console you because of his sweet nature, and is extremely happy to come, and with you I could communicate to him...'

San Michele, Murano according to Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 8 vols., (London, 1923-58) IV, 702, n.3. The dedication to Morosini 'divi Marci ecclesiae procuratori' places the original drafting to 1492-93: see Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, N.J., 1986) 409. On Morosini see Roberto Rusconi, '"Ex quodam antiquissimo libello": La tradizione manoscritta della profezie nell'Italia tardo medievale: dalle collezioni profetiche alle prime edizione a stampa' in W. Werbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen (eds.) *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Louvain, 1988) 441-72: 454-57; *VS* III, coll.1152-53.

[27] Rusconi (1988a) 454.

[28] '...vaticinium quoddam de Angelico futuro pontifice; quo elicitur & moriturum illum prius, & postea revicturum. Et quantum ex illo apparet, ipsius nomen per M. futurum describitur:...' *VS* III, col. 1153.

[29] *Sermones et epistolae* ff.53v-91v; *Epistolae* ff.64r-89v MS BNF XXXV 225. *Loc. cit.* Polizzotto (1994) 160, n.117. For his life see *ibid.*, 160-61.

[30] *Ibid.* 159-60

[31] *TLF* I, 136 (Letter of 23 January 1512).

He could add two others, making four: '...and if Fra Santino of Lucca listens to that, we will be marvellously happy with him, and with anyone you alone would wish'.[32] The figure of 'Canesani' may be identified with Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani, the Vicar-General of the Tusco-Roman Congregation in 1513. He figures among the correspondents of Fra Vincenzo Mainardi da S. Gemignano, friar of S. Marco (from Lucca) who is identifiable as 'Fra Santino da Lucca' here.[33] Francesco Boni was linked to Florentine *piagnoni* such as Girolamo Benivieni, Fra Tommaso Strozzi, and Fra Santi Pagnini.[34]

One 'Frate Zenobio' is also mentioned in the letters of Querini and he may be identified with the *piagnone* friar of S. Marco, Zanobi Acciaiuoli (1461-1519). In 1495, affected by Savonarola's preaching, he entered the Dominican Order at S. Marco where he preached and acted as librarian.[35] He was a pupil of Marsilio Ficino and Angelo Poliziano and he undertook translations from Greek into Latin. He edited the text of the Greek epigrams of Poliziano for the Aldine edition of 1498, as well as editing Eusebius' *Contro Ierocle*. Aldus Manutius dedicated *Philostrati de vita Apollonii Tyanei libri octo* (September 1504) to him. Among his other published works is a translation of the philosopher St Justin (AD100-165) which was published in Paris in 1511. St Justin was commonly regarded as the first Christian philosopher whose search for truth was satisfied by Christ and the Word of God contained both in Him and the Bible, and his work would undoubtedly have appealed to Querini.[36] Acciaiuoli was in contact with Girolamo Benivieni and Pietro Delfin, as has been noted. His *Oratio fratris Zenobii Acciaiuoli Florentini ordinis praedicatorum habita Romae coram Summo Pontifice dominica prima Adventus MDVII* (Rome, 1507?) was an impassioned appeal for improvement in the spiritual ministrations of the Church. His work emphasized the millenarian implications of present wars and tribulations and, as part of the impending transformation of Christendom, Julius II was encouraged to expand its borders to the Orient.[37] He kept up a regular correspondence

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[32] '...con questa medesima via abbiamo già fermato il vostro Gìanmaria Canesani, degno per la dolce sua natura del conforzio vostro, il quale contentissimo di venire, e con voi lo posso comunicare, in confessione però, e non altrimenti;...'; 'e se Fra Santino da Lucca a ciò porgese orecchie, di lui maravigliosamente si contenteressimo, e di chi voi solo vorrete'. *AC* VII, coll.571-73 (Letter of 8 September 1512): col. 572.

[33] Polizzotto (1994) 160, 265.

[34] *Ibid.* 156.

[35] He persuaded Giorgio Benigno Salviati to give Savonarola's sermons his serious attention: Weinstein (1970) 243. On Salviati and the pseudo-Amadeite prophecy see Cesare Vasoli, 'Giorgio Benigno Salviati (Dragisic)', in Reeves (1992b) ch.7. On Salviati and Acciaiuoli see Cesare Vasoli, *I miti e gli astri* (Naples, 1977) 51-128.

[36] *DBI* I: 93-4.

[37] Polizzotto (1994) 159-60.

with the more cautious Fra Vincenzo Mainardi da S. Gemignano. Between 1513 and 1519 he attempted, like other moderate *piagnoni*, to gain Leo X's favour.[38]

Another *piagnone* associated with the hermits may be identified from a reference to 'Il conte' in the hermits' correspondence. This reference may refer to Giovanni Francesco Pico (nephew of Giovanni, Count of Mirandola) to whom Giustiniani wrote in September 1511.[39] Pico was faithful to Savonarola's reforming ideal throughout his life, although it formed only one aspect of his interests. His *De reformandis moribus oratio*, which was composed for presentation to the Fifth Lateran Council[40], has been judged the 'crowning achievement of Piagnone conservatism'. In it he ignored the idea of an alteration in dogma and considered instead the decline of morals, particularly among the clergy. Like the hermits, he proposed a strict enforcement of existing laws and a related authentification of biblical texts. Again, like the hermits, he believed that scripture should be made more readily available and the clergy reformed under Leo X's guidance.[41]

It is not possible to link Antonio Pucci with any of these Florentine *piagnoni*, but he was closely associated with Camaldoli and the hermits. Like those of Pico, his reform proposals at the Lateran Council show a remarkable affinity with those of the hermits. Pucci was the nephew of the papal datary Lorenzo Pucci, then acting as papal representative in the negotiations about the schismatic council with Florence in 1511-12.[42] He was a member of a branch of the Medici family and studied the humanities at Pisa before going on to study law, philosophy, and theology. He had a profound knowledge of the Holy Scripture and drew large audiences as a preacher in the Cathedral of Florence. In the middle of August 1512 Antonio Pucci delivered a sermon at Camaldoli.[43] A few days earlier Delfin had written to the abbess of the Convent of Muratori about Pucci's preaching abilities which he compared with those of Isaiah. He noted Pucci's journey to Camaldoli had been caused by his devotion to Delfin and the hermits. Delfin hoped that all who would hear the sermon would gain solace from it and it would be pleasing both on account of its content and its author.[44]

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[38] Leonis X Laudes carmina MS BMF A.LXXXII, ff.237r-240r. *Loc. cit. ibid.* 248, n.46.
[39] *TLF* I, 52.
[40] On this see C. B. Schmitt, 'Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola and the Fifth Lateran Council', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 61 (1970) 161-78.
[41] The judgement is Polizzotto's (1994) 162. See also *ibid.* 162-64, 139, 141.
[42] A. Renaudet (ed.) *Le Concile Gallican de Pise-Milan: documents florentins, 1510-1512* (Paris, 1922) 642.
[43] *TLF* I, 497
[44] 'Haud magno negotio persuasus est venerabilis Putius ad perficiendum sanctum & pium opus: tum ob amorem quo nobis atque eremitis nostris afficitur, tum ob ipsius erga Eremum praecipuam devotionem.' *VS* III, col.1178; col.1179; coll.1179-80.

Pucci later became a member of the apostolic *camera* (fiscal department) and served as a member of the conciliar reform commission. He also served as a papal ambassador, and as bishop of Pistoia (1518) he is reported to have reformed the clergy. However, he was also accused of resisting the efforts of Contarini and Gian Pietro Carafa (later Pope Paul IV) to reform the Grand Penitentiary after 1537.[45] Bartolomeo della Fonte wrote to Pucci late in 1511 and inveighed against Pisa but hoped that the renovation of the Church might still be achieved by a true council.[46] Pucci addressed the ninth session of the Fifth Lateran Council on 5 May 1514. His extensive speech called for a moral reform of the Church. Professor Nelson H. Minnich has noted how Pucci's pastoral theme, concern for censuring, some other specific reform recommendations, and the stylistic structure of the speech 'bear certain similarities' to the *Libellus* of Querini and Giustiniani. As there was definitely prior contact between Pucci and the hermits, the similarities are less coincidental than Professor Minnich supposes.[47]

One of the most prominent Florentines who came into close contact with the hermits was Cosimo de' Pazzi (1466-1513) who was Lorenzo de' Medici's nephew. Pazzi, who was elected Archbishop of Florence in July 1508, learned Greek and Latin and went to Rome under Alexander VI. He was later a legate to Spain (1504), to the Emperor Maximilian, and to the King of France in Milan.[48] He may have frequented the discussions at the *Orti Oricellari* during ca.1500-06, probably in a literary capacity as he translated the neo-Platonic dissertations of Maximus of Tyre into Latin during the pontificate of Julius II.[49] In addition, Pontano dedicated his *De prudentia* to Pazzi in August, 1508 with a preface by Giovanni Corsi. He was later described as '...wise, serious, spirited, learned, with good Greek and Latin, but haughty and proud...courtly, and religious'.[50]

In 1509 Pazzi was obliged to deal with Fra Antonio da Cremona, a Franciscan Amadeite, who had preached the sermon on the popular *piagnone* text: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets'. Pazzi seems to have been most troubled by the prophetic content of the sermon which threatened to provoke trouble in a Florence

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45 Nelson H. Minnich, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17)* (Aldershot, 1993) ch. IV, 192-93, n.101.
46 Polizzotto (1994) 229.
47 Minnich (1993) ch.IV, 192-97; Polizzotto (1994) 309.
48 F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* 9 vols., (Rome, 1643-62) III, coll.235-36; I, coll.480-81.
49 Gilbert (1949) 118 & n.3. The ms of the translation is B.Vat. lat. 2196 and contains a prologue to Julius II. This is 'probably a dedication copy' according to P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 9 vols., (Leiden, 1963-90) II, 350.
50 The full description runs: '...fu huomo di statura grande, ulivigno, di pelo nero, brutto viso e lungo, savio, grave, animoso, litterato, buona lingua greca e così latina, ma fu alteroso e superbo...fu costumato, religioso'. Bartolomeo Cerretani, *Dialogo della mutatatione di Firenze*, (ed.) Raul Mordenti (Rome, 1990) 79.

already disquieted by self-styled prophets, visionaries and miracle workers claiming Savonarola's heritage, and drawing a large following.[51] Although Pazzi was supposed to have been elected to the archbishopric with Medici help nevertheless he appears to have shared his family' s disaffection with the Medici. In 1512 he appears to have been intriguing with Julius II against the pro-Spanish regime of Piero Soderini in Florence. His desire to be made a cardinal may also have led him into contact with Niccolò Valori who was one of the participants in a plot to murder Giuliano de' Medici in January, 1513.[52] However, his death in April 1513 prevented his going to pay homage to Leo X in Rome.[53]

Writing to Giustiniani at the beginning of 1512 Querini observed that Pazzi feared that: '...they act in the Council [of Pisa] in a way which will lead to schism, if the King of France is not chased from Italy'.[54] Four months later he discussed the council again and noted:

> ...We are all of one mind that we will never abandon the true pope, that we will obey only him, risking our lives rather than denying him, and we hope in help from above. I exhort you thus: there is one God, our blessed Jesus; one Church, the holy Roman See; one pope and true vicar of Christ, Julius II. May God grant him all the good which He can give a pope in this life, and also in the next! I wish for his health, and am not a judge of his failings, or rather, those of his flock however public they might be, and which I do not have to believe. Do likewise...[55]

Querini does not seem to have been aware of Julius II's convocation of the Fifth Lateran Council for 19 April although the bull convoking that council was printed in Rome and Venice in July, 1511.[56] However, for his work on councils Querini was

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[51] Polizzotto (1994) 200-01. See also the letter of Querini and Giustiniani to Pazzi in 1512: *AC* IX, coll. 575-77; and the letters of Pazzi to Querini listed in *TLF* I, 123 (9 April 1512)(Pazzi gives Querini and Giustiniani an ancient codex from which Giustiniani made a careful transcription of the Council of Chalcedon [AD 451]. See also Massa [1992] 170, n.276); 133 (8 May 1512)(Concerning the size of the woods at the hermitage); and from Querini to Pazzi *ibid.* 130 (April, 1512); 131 (7 March 1512).

[52] Cerretani (1990) 41 & n., 48, 60, 71, 73, 76, 79; Jacopo Nardi, *Vita di Antonio Giacomini e altri scritti minori...* (ed.) C. Gargiolli (Florence, 1867) 268-69.

[53] He died on 9 April 1513. His funeral oration may have been delivered by Marcello Virgilio Adriani, the Florentine chancellor. On this, see Kristeller (1963-90) I, 390.

[54] '...essi procederanno nel Concilio essere per fare scisma, se il re di Francia non sarà cacciato d'Italia'. *AC* IX col.538 (Letter of 21 January 1512).

[55] '...siamo tutti uniti a mai non abandonare il vero papa, ad esso ubedire et per lui exponere, piu tosto, che negarlo, la propria vita, sperando nell'ajuto di sopra. Cosi vi conforto tutti: un dio, Iesu benedetto; una chiesa, la Santa Sede romana; un pontefice vero vicario di Christo, Julio ii.: a chi donni iddio tuto quello di bene, che si puo ad un pontefice donare in questa vita, et nell'altra anchora. Desidero la salute sua, ne son iudice de mancamenti, ch'en lui overo nel grege suo fusseron quantunque publici, ch'io credere non debbo. Et voi similmente feitte:...' Letter of 12 April 1512 printed in Nelson H. Minnich and Elisabeth G. Gleason, 'Vocational Choices: an Unknown Letter of Pietro Querini to Gasparo Contarini and Niccolò Tiepolo (April, 1512)', *Catholic Historical Review* LXXV (1989) 5-20: 16.

[56] *Bulla intimationis Generalis Concilii apud Lateranum* (Marcellus Silber for Jacobus Mazochius: Rome, 1511) cited in the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy and Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London, 1958) 571.

aided by Pazzi, who provided a transcription of the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451).[57] He also turned to passages from works by Juan de Turrecremata (or Torquemada), the uncle of the Spanish Inquisitor whose work Querini had warmly praised in 1506. He used Turrecremata's *Commentaria super Decreto* (1449-64) and *Summa de Ecclesia* (1449-53) to support the idea that the pope was superior to any council, and that a council could only be called by the pope and could only judge in his case if he had authorized it.[58] However, if a pope were suspected of heresy, cardinals or other wise men, or even an emperor or prince could convoke a universal council. Querini considered those past councils which had been convoked in order to deal with heresy or for the sake of reforming laws and correcting vices. He noted that only bishops and prelates had decisive voices at the council, but that the pope could call others on occasion. Not all bishops need be recalled, but those that were should be wise, of holy life, prudent, skilled and zealous in their faith.

Querini's arguments about the role of the council are consonant with the papalist position which, it has been argued, was more nuanced than is suggested by the insistence that: 'pontifical authority is above the council'.[59] Even Cardinal Cajetan, who insisted on the superiority of pope to council at the Fifth Lateran Council and elsewhere, admitted with Querini that under exceptional circumstances a general council could assemble itself even against the wishes of the pope, and take whatever action was necessary to prevent the destruction of the Church, for example, the deposition of a pope.[60] This 'mitigated conciliarism', which characterized most churchmen at Constance (1414-18), including Turrecremata, was consonant with the decretist position. Contarini later presented a theory of conciliarism which was similar to Querini's, although he was at pains to diminish the importance of the Council of Constance which had actually imposed the decree of frequent councils on the pope.[61]

Undoubtedly the most important of the Florentine associates of the hermits was Giuliano de' Medici (1479-1516), whose life and religious beliefs have been neglected by historians. In November 1494 he was forced to leave Florence with his brother Giovanni and make for Venice where he remained for about a year in the house of

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[57] *TLF* I, 123 (Letter of 9 April 1512).
[58] 'Concilium Generale Superius non est pontifice Romano auctoritate, immo inferius, quoniam Romanus pontifex divina institutione Princeps est per totam universalem Christi ecclesiam.' *Tractatus Petri Quirini super concilium generale AC* IX coll.599-611: col.606. On this point see also Minnich and Gleason (1989) 10.
[59] *AC* IX, col. 606; Francis Oakley, 'Concilarism at the Fifth Lateran Council?', *Church History* 41 (1972) 452-63. In this instance see especially 459-63.
[60] Oakley (1972) 460.
[61] See below, ch. 7.

Vettore Lippomano.[62] It was during his second stay in Venice in 1499 that he may have renewed his friendship with Pietro Bembo with whom he was acquainted from the time of Bernardo Bembo's embassy to Florence. Giuliano and Bembo certainly came to be good friends when they were both at the court of Urbino between 1506 and 1512 (Giuliano was a permanent resident there from 1505). Bembo made Giuliano one of his interlocutors in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (composed 1506-12, published 1525)[63], and Castiglione immortalized all of them in his book *Il libro del cortegiano* (composed ca. 1513-18, published 1528).

Querini may have become acquainted with Giuliano as early as 1499 when both men were in the Veneto, or in 1510 when Giuliano visited Venice. The earliest recorded letter from Giustiniani to Giuliano and Pietro Bembo at Urbino announced his installation in the hermitage, his assumption of white robes of the order, and his change of name.[64] Giuliano stayed with Bernardo Bembo in Venice in October, 1510[65], and the hermits continued to be in correspondence with Giuliano between 1511 and 1514.[66] Contarini noted that Giustiniani accompanied Giuliano de' Medici from Venice at the beginning of 1511.[67]

Giuliano, to Contarini's delight, returned to Florence as a private citizen in September 1512 and began re-establishing Medici power there. His decision to maintain a relatively broadly-based government in the city did not endear him to some pro-Mediceans and neither Giovanni nor Giulio de' Medici thought that their family would be secure in Florence with such a government and it was therefore further restricted in favour of the Medici. In addition, his character was heavily criticized.[68] On his

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[62] Sanudo II, coll. 639, 643. Lippomano was later thanked by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici for this act of kindness: *Ibid.* XV, col.572.

[63] Pietro Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua* (written 1511-24; published 1525), in *idem, Prose e rime* (ed.) Carlo Dionisotti (Turin, 1966) 73-309.

[64] 'M[agnifi]co mio carissimo et sopra carissimo et voi, non men caro M.Pietro, sapiate ch'io son qua fermato nel eremo di Camaldole et son vestito di panni bianchi et di Thomaso mi son facto Paulo...' Letter of 29 December 1510 quoted in *TLF* I, 43.

[65] Sanudo XI, col. 519: 'Vene in questa terra il Magnifico Juliano di Medici, fiorentino, alozato in caxa di sier Bernardo Bembo, dotor et cavalier, per l'amititia ha il fiol, domino Pietro, con lui. Et è venuto per medicharssi di li occhij'.

[66] Letters from Giuliano to Giustiniani from Ravenna on 18 May 1511 (printed in Massa [1992] 72-3), from Urbino on 9 June 1511, and from Rome on 22 December 1513: *TLF* I, 146, 147, 138. Letter from the hermits to Giuliano from Florence on 1 May 1513: *AC* IX, coll.577-78, which may be identical to that listed in *TLF* I, 45. Also, a letter of 29 December 1510 from Giustiniani to Giuliano and Pietro Bembo at Urbino, announcing his entry into Camaldoli printed in Massa (1992) 67-8.

[67] *C. und C.* 61 (Letter of 1 February 1511).

[68] A life of Giuliano forms part of the introduction to Giuliano's poetry: G. Fatini (ed.) *Giuliano de' Medici Duca di Nemours. Poesie, con uno studio* (Florence, 1939). For contemporary criticism of Giuliano see Rosemary Devonshire Jones, *Francesco Vettori : Florentine citizen and Medici servant* (London, 1972) 69. On Giuliano and the restoration of Medici power in Florence see *ibid.* 66-84; Humphrey Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence 1502-1519* (Oxford, 1985) 204-09; and John N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic 1512-1530*

brother's elevation to the papacy Giuliano travelled to Rome, where he arrived on 4 May 1513, and began reaping the political rewards of Leo's good disposition towards him. It was rumoured in June 1513 that he was about to be made a cardinal, and later he was expected to become the head of a a newly formed state, or of the kingdom of Naples. [69] However, his chief political importance would seem to have lain in his marriage in June 1515 to the French king's aunt Filiberta, Duchess of Savoy, through whom he would acquire Parma, Piacenza, Reggio, and Modena.

Giuliano, for all his worldliness [70], was also interested in literature, art [71], as well as religion. There are several manuscripts which testify to Giuliano's possible interest in undertaking a pilgrimage to the Holy Land or even India, or of his own reclusion in a

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(Oxford,1983) 73-95. Ludwig von Pastor is particularly scathing about Giuliano's character in his *History of the Popes* 10 vols., (London, 1891-1910) VII, 90. The judgement of Bartolomeo Cerretani, the Florentine chronicler, on Giuliano's conduct in Florence during 1512-13 may be of some interest, although it was written ca. 1520-1 and is likely to have been biased in favour of Giulio de' Medici: 'Giuliano non poteva soportare e disagi de l'udiente, delle pratiche, et ogni fatica lo metteva in suo letto, desiderava vita solitaria, pacifico et bonario, il che lo faceva inclinare a tutte le chieste, di modo che non poteva mantenere il motto, e permantenerlo seguiva alle volte molti disordini e non piccoli'.: Cerretani (1990) 70. Cerretani recorded, contemporaneously with Giuliano's presence in Florence in 1512-13, the judgement: 'Giuliano restò solo con ms. Julio; Giuliano era mal complesionato et ogni disagio lo meteva in suo letto e soportava malvolientieri le fatiche dello stato: era di buona mente, pacifiche et non solito moltto al ghoverno; ms. Julio era al chontrario di buon corppo, sollecito, savio et di poche parole'. *Ricordi,* quoted *ibid.* 70n. However, Paolo Vettori's *Ricordi* urged that Giuliano govern Florence: Rudolf von Albertini, *Firenze dalla republica al principato,* (trans.) Cesare Cristofolini (Turin, 1970 and 1995) Appendice 1.

[69] Sanudo: XVI, col. 223 (arrival in Rome). On the reluctance of Giulio, Giuliano and Lorenzo de'Medici to leave Rome to govern Florence in 1513 see Stephens (1983) 80. For Giuliano's instructions on government to Lorenzo de' Medici see *ASI,* App. I (1842-44) 299-324; Sanudo XVI, col.357 (rumours about cardinalate). For Giuliano as head of a new or old state see *ibid.* coll. 519, 608; XVIII, col. 68; XX, col. 110; Fatini (1939) pp.LIV-LVI; Cerretani (1990) 81; Stephens (1983) 97-98.

[70] Fatini (1939) notes his love of horse-racing and extravagant celebrations on becoming a Roman citizen. It was observed on 10 April 1515 that: '...il Magnifico sta con più corte e pompa lì in Roma, che non steva il ducha Valentino al tempo di papa Alessandro'. Sanudo XX, col.110.

[71] Raphael served in his household in 1515, and he was a patron to Leonardo da Vinci in Rome at the same time: Fatini (1939) pp. LXI-LXIV. Note that Elisabetta Gonzaga commissioned Raphael's 'Christ in the Garden of Olives' for the Blessed Michele Fiorentino of Camaldoli in 1507. Pietro Bembo (then at Urbino) wrote to Michele that the Duchess was commissioning 'una imagine...per mano d' un gran maestro della pittura...' *Lettere* I, no.256 (6 May 1507). It is asserted by R. Jones and N. Penny, *Raphael* (Newhaven and London, 1983) 5-6; and by Cicogna (1842) V, 68, that the painting (now lost) was in an English collection. Cicogna may be referring to the work known as the 'Agony in the Garden', which formed part of the Colonna altarpiece painted at Perugia ca. 1505, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. This work was formerly in English collections and depicts the incident described in Luke 22.39-46 when Christ, having revealed that he will be betrayed by one of his disciples, prayed to God on the mount of Olives for His will to be done. The painting shows Christ surrounded by three sleeping disciples, and an angel bringing strength to Christ in the form of the cup which symbolized His incarnation. However, the work commissioned for Don Michele is probably another work with the same title which was recorded in 1872 as being in the collection of William Fuller Maitland (1813-76) of Stansted in Essex. His collection was sold after his death, and the work is now lost. This painting differed from that in New York in that it apparently included Judas approaching from the right with six armed men. In other respects the paintings appear to be almost identical both in size and subject matter. See J. D. Passavant, *Raphael of Urbino and his Father Giovanni Santi* (London and New York, 1872) 206; and Pierluigi de Vecchi, *The Complete Paintings of Raphael,* intro. Richard Cocke (London, 1969) 93, 95. The location given for the painting in both works is erroneous.

hermitage.[72] Giuliano actually spent two nights in the hermitage in July 1514. He met Fra Innocentio there and took him for a 'little saint' - so much so that he joked that he wished to construct a chapel in honour of S. Romuald (the founder of the order) complete with a little cell for Innocentio.[73]

In their *Libellus* the hermits proposed that Giuliano should lead a crusade against the Muslims.[74] In a hitherto neglected letter from Querini to Giuliano which must date from November 1513 Querini rejoiced at the recent turn of political events. By means of Leo X, Matteus Lang had come to Rome to represent Maximilian in the matter of peace between the emperor and Venice. Once the Venetians were put in order, there would be a firm concord of all of Italy hitherto consumed by war. Querini looked forward to the crusade against the infidels so much desired by Giuliano, and he wondered that the discords which entangled Europe had been settled by Leo and Giuliano. He advised Giuliano to ignore malicious tongues, to refuse the poison covered in honey, and to use his prudence to effect peace with Lang (whom Querini knew).[75]

Whether Giuliano ever seriously considered giving up the world of power politics in Rome is seriously to be doubted, although he attended the opening of the seventh session of the Lateran Council in June 1513. The idea that Giuliano might lead a crusade should not be dismissed entirely. One recent study of crusade ideas in the sixteenth century has asserted their continuing political importance although the hermits' scheme may be classed among those 'dossiers d'hiver' or winter diversions assigned to the schemes of King Manuel of Portugal, among others, by Fernand Braudel.[76] However, the Florentine historian Jacopo Nardi noted that: 'Giuliano was inclined by his nature to religion, and he was a curious investigator of future things...', and that in 1515 or 1516 he was visited in Florence by a Camaldolese monk who predicted great things for him and whose prophecy of the death of one 'Frate Angelo'

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[72] 'Argumenta per breves anotationes diversarum literarum quas vel scripsit vel scribere proponebat ad diversos magnos viros: ad M[agnifi]cum Iulianum, pont[ificis] germanum, De implendo voto hierosolimitane peregrinationis; item ad eundem, consulens ipsum si indiam petere deberet an in Eremo quiescere;...' ; 'Al M[agnifi]co α) El voto suo de andar in hierusalem... β) descriptio terre sancte'; 'Al mag[nifi]co per messo fidato et securo domandarli consiglio di me stesso de li doi partiti, cioè 1. de la reclusion, 2. dela peregrination...' *TLF* I, 102-03.

[73] Jean LeClerq, *Un humaniste ermite: le bienheureux Paul Giustiniani (1476-1528)* (Rome, 1951) 80.

[74] *AC* IX, coll. 587-88.

[75] *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini et eccellentissimi ingegni, scritte in diverse materie, libro primo* (eds.) P. and A. Manuzio (Aldii fili: Venice, 1549) ff.44r-45r. On Lang's negotiations see Sanudo XVII, coll.271, 306, 325, 326, 341, 342, 348, 352, 353, 354, 364, 373, 379.

[76] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992) chs. 4 & 13. Braudel is quoted at *ibid.* 125.

was fulfilled.[77] It is possible that Giuliano's 'simple' and unceremonial entry into Florence in the autumn of 1512 may have had religious as well as political connotations, and that he thereby attempted to realize a personal ideal of apostolic simplicity and piety.[78]

The hermits were therefore associated with conservative *piagnoni* as well as the Medici, and they were certainly not followers of a Savonarolan doctrine or 'party' in any programmatic fashion. But, as recent historians have pointed out, there was a good deal of common ground between Savonarola and those interested in reform during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[79] The hermits' attitude towards prophecy, made plain in the *Libellus* and in the treatment of Francesco da Meleto (as well as by Giustiniani and Contarini's later connection with the 1516-17 condemnation of prophetic preaching) should not necessarily detract from this affinity. Their reforms of the Camaldolese Order and their proposals at the Fifth Lateran Council fit rather comfortably with such currents of thought, even if the hermits did not consciously mean them to do so. It would appear that in many ways the Roman curia was a broad and vigorous institution.

ii. Reform of the Camaldolese Order

Pietro Delfin had been an obstacle to reform of the Camaldolese Order along stricter, perhaps Savonarolan lines, at the turn of the century. He was to prove a no less obstinate opponent of the reforms carried through by the hermits and their supporters in 1513-14. Relations between the hermits and the Prior-General were initially quite easy.[80] In 1511 he sent Giustiniani a Greek manuscript of St Gregory of Nazianzus (a contemporary of St Basil who found the monastic life very congenial and was very unhappy as a bishop), and also a manuscript copy of the *proemio* of Bernardo

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[77] 'Era Giuliano di sua natura inclinato alla religione, e curioso investigatore delle cose future...' Jacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze.* (ed.) L. Arbib, 2 vols., (Florence, 1842) II, 39-40. Giuliano's presence at the Lateran Council is recorded in Joannes Dominicus Mansi (ed.) *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio...* 55 vols., (Florence and elsewhere, 1758-1962) XXXII, col. 809.

[78] On Giuliano's 1512 entry and its political implications see the recent assessment of Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe. La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale* (Venice, 1996) 207-08.

[79] Donald Weinstein, 'Explaining God's Acts to His People: Savonarola's Spiritual Legacy to the Sixteenth Century.' 205-26 in J. W. O' Malley, T. M. Izbicki, and G. Christianson (eds.) *Humanity and Divinity in the Renaissance and Reformation: essays in honor of Charles Trinkaus* (Leiden, 1993). Paolo Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento. Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico* (Rome, 1977).

[80] The events of 1511-14 and the clash between the hermits and Pietro Delfin have been described in *AC* VII, 404-438. Some of Delfin's letters most relevant to this dispute are reprinted *ibid.* Other letters are printed in *VS* III, coll.1163-1212. On Delfin and the hermits see Schnitzer (1926)146-62, 227-49.

Rucellai's *De bello italico*.[81] Delfin wrote to Cardinal Volterra, Francesco Soderini, Protector of the Camaldolese Order:

> ...Yesterday I brought into our Sacred hermitage two novices who are Venetian patricians, one of whom is very learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and he has served his homeland in embassies and public offices. I hear that the whole of Florence is in admiration now that their arrival has become known, especially since they have lingered there for the whole of the month.[82]

In September 1511 Delfin wrote to Giustiniani about the arrangements he was making for Querini's arrival and he also wrote that Giustiniani's judgement of Rucellai's proem had pleased him.[83] The following February Querini wrote to Delfin[84], and soon after Delfin wrote to Ambrose, the prior of the monastery of Sa Maria degli Angeli.[85] That March, Delfin wrote to Querini requesting his help to elucidate a scriptural passage in Hebrew (Job XIX. 23-4) which recorded Job's cry for justice in the face of a social convention and a God which seemed to be too limited, a passage which gained additional significance in the light of Delfin's subsequent difficulties with the hermits.[86] During the summer of 1512 Delfin and Querini exchanged letters on the matter of collecting together and altering the constitutions of the order.[87]

In spite of the warmth of their welcome there, the hermits had already aroused some hostility in Florence as the description of a letter of February 1512 from Giustiniani to Francesco Boni in Florence testifies:

> A long letter written in the vernacular to Francesco Boni, Florentine, in which he responded to those people who, after Brother Pietro had reached the hermitage, accused both unceasingly, saying that it was not permitted for him to cross from the secular state to the hermitage without cenobitic

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[81] *VS* III, coll.1171-73: Letters of 25 February 1511 and 24 September 1511. Also, note the ms 'Proemio' of *De bello italico* at Frascati dated September, 1511 and listed in *TLF* I, 48 and reprinted in Massa (1992) 79. Bernardo Rucellai's letter to Delfin of September, 1511 requesting the proemio to be judged, Delfin's letter to Giustiniani, Giustiniani's reply to Delfin (which warns against the vice and impiety which Rucellai's reference to the 'immortal Gods' can bring), and Delfin's letter of 27 September 1511 to Rucellai (in which he notes that Giustiniani prays day and night and reads Latin and Greek manuscripts as well as scripture) are printed at *ibid.* 78-85.

[82] 'Significandum duxi induisse me heri in Sacra nostra eremo novitios duos patritios Venetos, quorum alter [Querini] Hebraica, Graeca, Latina lingua peritissimus, haud vulgaribus legationibus & magistratibus in patria sua functus est. Miratam audio Florentiam totam, apud quam jam percrebruerat de illorum adventu, utpote qui toto praeterito mense ibidem fuerant commorati...' *AC* VII, 414.

[83] *VS* III, coll.1173-74.

[84] *TLF* I, 132.

[85] *VS* III, col.1175: letter of 17 February 1512.

[86] *Ibid.* col.1176. The exact portion of scriptural text quoted runs: 'vel celte sculpantur in silice.'

[87] *Ibid.* coll.1177-78: letters from Delfin to Querini of 3 and 5 July 1512. Also *TLF* I, 129,130: letters from Querini to Delfin of April and June-December, 1512. Querini wrote to the Duchess of Urbino on 14 September 1512 noting that in uniting with S. Michele di Murano the constitutions of the hermitage must be 'rasettate' and 'rafformate' i.e. a prior to be elected every three years to oversee the care of the souls of the monks. *AC* VII, col. 568.

> probation; these questions are answered and the life, morals, and institutions of the Camaldolese hermitage are described and praised. Written in 1512.[88]

Giustiniani later described what happened next:

> Both together made considerable efforts to free the hermitage from servitude to a General elected for life, and succeeded in causing a General Chapter to be held at Florence. There it was decided - both of them concerning themselves with the matter - that the Congregation of the hermitage should be brought into line with the other places where this Order is observed. They then went to Rome to obtain from Pope Leo X the *privilegium* of the Congregation [...] and of the liberty of the hermitage, which the General Pietro Delfin opposed to some extent, making it necessary for Brother Pietro [Querini] to go again to Rome, where the final accord with the General was concluded.[89]

The hermits obtained a brief from Giovanni de' Medici (soon to be Leo X), the apostolic legate, to summon a chapter meeting of the order for the annulment of the Prior-General and for a union of the monasteries into one body. Delfin wrote to Querini approving the decree making the meeting known so long as it would be canonical and suitable. The presence of a legate would be pleasing to Delfin.[90] Delfin sent letters to Cardinal de' Medici inviting him to Florence. In addition, on 31 March 1513 Leo's apostolic brief granted to Giovanni Battista Sacchetti, Abbot of Sa Maria degli Angeli, apostolic authority over the chapter. Querini appointed the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini advocate for the Camaldolese Order. Guicciardini was returning from his embassy in Spain and was appointed presumably because both he and Querini were connected with Giuliano de' Medici.[91]

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[88] 'Epistola prolixa vulgari sermone contexta ad franciscum bonum florentinum, in qua respondit his qui, postquam f. Petrus ad Eremum accesserat, utrumque accusare non cessabant dicentes non licere ex seculo ad Eremum sine Cenobii probatione transire, in qua et huic questioni respondetur et vita, mores institutionesque Camaldulensium Eremitarum narrantur et laudantur Scripta MDXII'. *TLF* I, 15.

[89] 'Ove tutti doi insieme [Querini and Giustiniani] poi assai si affaticorno per liberar l'eremo de la servitù de perpetuo generale, et sì operorno che si celebrò un capitulo generale in fiorenza, ove si conclusse, ip[s]is ambobus hoc curantibus la conclussion de la Congregation del Eremo con li altri locchi de observantia del ordine. Et poi andando insieme a Roma obtenere da pappa Leone X. mo il privilegio de la congre[g]atione[...] et dela libertà del Eremo, alle qual cose contra dicendo in qualche parte il generale D.Pietro delphino, fu necessario a F. Pietro andar iterum a Roma, ove concluse l'ultimato acordo con esso Generale'. Quoted in *ibid.* I, 119-20.

[90] *AC* VII, col.417: letter of 14 January 1513 announcing the meeting to be held at Sa Maria degli Angeli, Florence on 'dominicam primam post octavam resurrectionis Domini'.

[91] Guicciardini wrote in his *Ricordanze*: 'Ricordo come a dì 14 di febraio [1513] la congregazione nuova dello eremo di Camaldoli mi elesse avvocato, con premio di barili dieci di vino lo anno: fece detta elezione fra Piero Quirino eremita di Camaldoli che era sindico di detto eremo, e fu cosa non procurata né pensata da me, ma fatta naturalmente e motu proprio'. Francesco Guicciardini, *Opere*, (ed.) R. Palmarocchi, 9 vols., (Florence, 1929-36) IX, 74. Unfortunately, Osvaldo Cavallar does not shed any further light on this episode in his *Francesco Guicciardini giurista. I ricordi degli onorari* (Milan, 1991) 51-2.

On 16 February 1513 the hermits reached Florence where they remained until 10 May for what was, at least by Delfin's account, a scandalous chapter meeting. In a series of letters written more than a year after the event Delfin described the actions of the 'pharisees' and their supporters, with his particular contempt directed towards Querini's presumption as a layman alternately to cajole and supplicate the aged (and, in his own mind at least, distinguished) ecclesiastic Delfin. He noted that the hermits, who had not even been ordained, were given the authority of 'definitores' to reform the hermitage 'in head and members' by the initial papal 'diploma' granted by Julius II. After Leo had issued another 'diploma' Francesco Soderini, the Protector of the order, wrote from Rome asking for the suspension of business as it was suspected that certain people in Rome were scheming against the liberty of the order. This is likely to have been a move to stonewall the hermits.

Since the chapter meeting was effectively suspended and certainly riven with dissension the 'two little tyrants' (as Delfin styled them) went to Rome with the corrected constitutions which they attempted to present to Soderini who not only refused the hermits, but also chastised them. However, the contacts which the hermits had made with the Medici family bore fruit, and on 4 July Leo X granted a *Privilegium* which permitted sweeping reforms to be enacted in the Camaldolese Order. At about this time Antonio Pucci communicated the papal order for Delfin to obey the new constitutions with a willingness which Delfin found very suspicious.[92] As early as April 1513 it was observed in Venice:

> It has been understood in Florence, where a new constitution has been made, that the abbot of Camaldoli will no longer be elected for life; but after the death of Pietro Delfin the abbots will be installed for three years and not for life; and they wish this to be confirmed by the present pope, Leo X.[93]

The *Privilegium* confirmed, strengthened, and extended to all monasteries of the order the privileges already conceded by popes and emperors. They would therefore be brought into one body under S. Michele at Murano.[94] 'Prelati' were to administer monasteries and priories in the absence of the general. They would have spiritual and

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[92] 'tam in capite quam in membris'; 'tyrannulos duos'. Letter of 4 August 1514 in *VS* III, coll. 1182-89: col.1182, 1183. *AC* VII, 426-30.

[93] '...se intese a Fiorenza, dove è stà fato una constitution nova, che il loro abate di Camaldole non sia più electo in vita; ma, morto questo don Piero Dolfin, la dita abatia sia di la religion, et si fazino li abati da esser confirmati *per triennium*, acciò non si fazi più in vita; e voleno tal confirmation sia facta per il pontifice presente *Leo decimo*'. Sanudo XVI, col.159.

[94] For a summary of the *privilegium* see *AC* VII, 418-23. The full text is reprinted at *ibid.* coll.293-328. See also Vincenzo Querini and Tommaso Giustiniani, *Reformatio Camaldulensis ordinis cum gratiis & privilegis a Leone. x. ponti. maxi. nuperrime concessis. Litterae apostolicae...privilegium...Vita Beatissimi Romualdi a Beato Petro Damiano cardinali...descripta* (Philippo di Giunta: Florence, 29 December 1513-20 January 1514).

temporal powers, but they were not to hold titles *in commendam*. Violent or obstructive monks would be excommunicated while fugitives and wandering monks would be put into custody and prison and compelled to obedience by ecclesiastical censures and other remedies. Legates *de latere*, apostolic nuncios, vicars, rectors, patriarchs, archbishops, and benefactors were exempted from the jurisdiction of the congregation. The monks were exempted from outside jurisdiction, and could not be compelled by councils, public funerals and processions, or by the visitations and corrections of outsiders. During interdicts, masses and holy offices might be celebrated behind closed doors. Monks could not seek ordination from any bishop without the leave of the Ordinary. Absolution from excommunication would be granted to those joining. Those monks celebrating mass with excommunicants would not themselves be excommunicated. All monks would be obliged to recite the office of the Virgin Mary and the administration of divine offices, including confession and the sacrament of the Eucharist, were confirmed. Various rules concerning annulment of union or membership of the order were confirmed and a union of hermitage, Conventual and Observant monasteries into one body was proclaimed. In this way, the Camaldolese were following the congregational structure of the Order of Sa Giustina (known after 1505 as the Cassinese Order).

The prior-general was to be elected annually by a number of the hermitages or Observant congregations (but Conventuals were to be excluded as was the custom at S. Michele of Murano). In the event of the death or removal of Delfin his place would be taken by Paolo Orlandini, the vicar of the congregation of S. Michele of Murano, although the prior of the hermits would be elected by a chapter of the hermitages. The general might elect for three years the vicars of the Conventuals, cenobites, hermits and nuns or dismiss them within one year. Two chapters would be held annually of cenobites and hermits for the election of the prior of hermitages, generals and Observant abbots. The custom of the Benedictine monastery of Sa Giustina would be followed in the matter of 'priores per novem definitores de numero praelatorum deputandos'. At Sa Giustina there were eight *definitores* who acted as a governing body in the period before the next chapter-general.[95] No Observant would be allowed to cross to the Conventuals, although a Conventual could join the Observants. Men would also be employed to teach language, doctrine, and especially the discipline of holy scripture to the monks (again, like the Cassinese). Giuliano de' Medici was named as the principal patron and benefactor of the order.

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[95] Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars* (Oxford, 1985) 29, n.8.

Delfin followed the hermits to Rome in October 1513 where he attended the eighth session of the Lateran Council and probably delivered his 'Oratio' to Leo.[96] In this short work Delfin praised Leo as a Medici who would soon apply 'medicina' to the whole languishing Christian people. He would bring peace to the disputes among Christians and subjugate the barbarian nations. Among this standard rhetoric it is interesting to find a further reflection of Delfin's prophetic interests as he asserted that for all his virtues Leo's name would be found in the *vaticinium* of popes (presumably as Angelic Pope).[97] Although he counted on the support of several cardinals and made an appeal to the pope in Rome, in June 1514 Delfin was pensioned off, and by August he was in the monastery of S. Benedetto near Florence, largely stripped of his powers and cursing Querini for his 'inflated ambition' and for his role as the author of factions in the order.[98]

If these reforms were indeed made in the spirit, if not in the image, of Savonarola, one would have expected Delfin, as the veteran anti-Savonarolan polemicist, to have complained loudly about this fact. As it was, the reforms of the Camaldolese Order foreshadow many of the proposals in the *Libellus*. In both proposals the hermits wished to secure the obedience of monks to their order, and their subjection to the strict rules of the order. In both cases the hermits stressed the importance of educating the regular clergy in languages, theology, and in Holy scripture. More generally, these proposals reflect the debates around religion and reform which convulsed the curia at this moment and which had been lent particular urgency by a combination of political factors leading to the Pisan schism and the convocation of the Fifth Lateran Council by that most un-reform-minded of popes, Julius II.[99] This council gave humanist clerics, monks and laymen, *piagnoni* and millenarian enthusiasts a platform for their views.

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[96] Delfin notes his departure for Rome in a letter of 14 August 1514 in *VS* III, coll. 1189-1205: 1191. His attendance at the Lateran Council on 17 December 1513, and again on 5 May 1514 at the opening of the ninth session, is recorded in Mansi (1758-1962) XXXII, coll.830, 862.

[97] "Fuit sane haec mutatio nominis tui mutatio dexterae Excesi: ut juxta prophetae vaticinium vocaretur tibi nomen novum, quod os Domini nominavit'. *VS* III, coll.1211-16: 1213.

[98] He wrote: 'Quirino auctoribus & capitibus factionis' *VS* III, col.1208; and note also: 'Siquidem per totam hanc regionem vulgatum est, Quirinum Generalatum perpetuum ambientem, conatum esse me loco deturbare. Cur autem hoc fecerint, sive ducti conscientia, ut ipsi affirmant, sive ambitione inflati, quemadmodum passim creditum est, ex ferie ac narratione rei gestae percipies'. *AC* VII 426-27.

[99] Querini clearly supported Julius II against the schismatic council, although he did suggest that Councils could have some authority. It is difficult to tell how far Julius himself was a focus for expectations of reform. He seems to have fulfilled that role for Egidio of Viterbo, and Salviati promoted him as an Angelic Pope. Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford, 1993) is silent on this point. Richard Mackenney points out that in 1506 Julius venerated a relic of a thirteenth-century miracle proving transubstantiation: *idem*, 'Continuity and change in the *scuole piccole* of Venice, c.1250-c.1600', *Renaissance Studies* 8/4 (1994) 388-403: 398. Of course, he was depicted by Raphael participating in the Mass at Bolsena. For a very suggestive account of Julian piety and imperialism see Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness: art and culture in Raphael's 'Julius II'* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1980), especially 59-74.

The most obvious theme which emerged from the council was the complaint that the Church was corrupted and in desperate need of renewal. These feelings of imminent catastrophe, possibly at the hands of the Ottomans, accorded well with eschatological timetables. These timetables suggested that the renewal of Christendom was signalled by the discovery of new lands to the west and the east, and by the election of a doctor or 'medicus' who would cure the Church's ills. The hermits took up most of these themes in their work, possibly because they were already acquainted with many of their colleagues at the council, and their ideas had been rapidly printed or circulated. The hermits also pursued the idea that the new Medici pope was a 'medicus', and that he would bring political unity to Christendom before leading a crusade against the Turks. Their close relationship with Giuliano, and Querini's developing friendship with Leo X himself makes their reform proposals a fascinating insight into curial thinking. Ironically, their reliance upon the papal leadership, which had borne fruit in their reform of the Camaldolese Order, overestimated the diplomatic and spiritual strength of Leo X. The political moment, which seemed briefly to conjoin with a spiritual impetus based on humanist learning, and which seemed set to make Querini a cardinal, quickly passed, so that the 'long' fifteenth century finally ended in the disaster of 1527.

Chapter 4

The *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513), Rome and Reform

i. 'Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men' The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17)

The decision of Querini and Giustiniani to enter the hermitage at Camaldoli, and their concern for the reform of the Camaldolese Order appear to be particularly 'medieval' and short-sighted attitudes if they are viewed from the historical perspective of the Reformation. It seems paradoxical that two of the most successful and educated men of their generation should choose to withdraw from the world of action, confirming a more general trend in northern Italy. However, the French historian of the Reformation Lucien Febvre argued that the Reformation was resisted in Italy because the bourgeois and merchant classes continued to be interested in monasticism. In France by contrast, self-made men were disgusted by intercessions on their behalf. Febvre was concerned to draw historians away from sterile doctrinal debates towards a predominantly socio-economic-political thesis. He wrote of the rapid changes at the beginning of the sixteenth century which affected men who were neither 'zealots' nor 'spiritual nationalists' but who were caught between the pressures of social discipline and the 'free aspirations of individual conscience'.[1] A recent study of the socio-economic reasons underlying Venice's failure to turn Protestant during the sixteenth century would seem to confirm this conclusion.[2] However, a study of popular piety in one region of England, a country which did embrace Protestantism, suggests that lay people there continued to be interested in the monasteries and their spiritual services at least until the beginning of the sixteenth century.[3]

Two recent studies question the socio-economic approach to the Italian 'reformation' and provide a very useful basis for understanding the eremitical choice of the hermits on personal, rather than socio-economic, terms. Dott. Silvana Seidel Menchi has noted that the thrust of historiography of the Reformation in central Europe has been to explain the social rather than theological elements of reform and (as Febvre) to seek to base geographical differences in the specific political, social, or economic

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[1] Lucien Febvre, 'The origins of the French Reformation: a badly-put question?', in Peter Burke (ed.) *A New Kind of History* (London, 1973) ch.4: 73-74, 88.

[2] John Martin, 'Salvation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Popular Evangelism in a Renaissance City', *Journal of Modern History* 60/2 (1988) 205-33.

[3] Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995), especially ch. 1.

conditions of individual groups of heretics. In Italy, the nature of the records makes this approach difficult and she emphasizes the individual and 'irrational' aspect of the heretical choice in sixteenth-century Italy. For her, religious choice becomes much more of an 'intuitive and compelling perception of the sacred'.[4] Historians must therefore try to understand why eucharistic fervour gave way to, or accompanied, a desire to hear the Word of God.

In her study of anti-clericalism Dott. Seidel Menchi has argued that powerful families like the Medici and humanists employed in ecclesiastical positions had a vested economic interest in suppressing or controlling ecclesiastical property and ideals. Anti-clericalism among these groups was more of a 'safety-valve' in an otherwise stable relationship between the regular clergy and the laity. Innovation in that relationship was marked by a belief not in the absence of clergy from cities but in a 'total clergy, total Church'.[5] In view of all this then, perhaps a return to biographical studies of those who lived through reform in Italy makes sense. After all, private letters and other writings make it easier to understand the mental world of religiously inclined men and women. This world appears to be much more diverse than was hitherto apparent to historians, even though it was also strongly shaped by the dominant forces of the curia and secular state.

A biographical study of the hermits and their supporters or sympathisers reveals that much of what the hermits enacted or proposed in the *Libellus ad Leonem X* was in conformity with the concerns of the mainstream of clerics and theologians at Lateran V. The substance of these concerns was incorporated into the Reform Bull of May, 1514: appointments regulated by canon law; the Cardinals' mode of life and duties; papal and curial servants; religious instruction of the young; penalties against blasphemers and for negligent priests; the observation of the privileges of clergy; and the abolition of superstitions.[6] That the hermits drew on the beliefs of *piagnoni* or from the doctrines of Savonarola, which were consonant with orthodoxy in any case[7], cannot be conclusively proved but perhaps it should be recalled that Savonarola was

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[4] Silvana Seidel Menchi, 'Italy", in Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulas Teich (eds.) *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge, 1994) ch.11: 184.

[5] Silvana Seidel Menchi, 'Characteristics of Italian Anticlericalism' in Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman (eds.) *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1993) 271-81.

[6] See Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 10 vols., (London, 1891-1910) VIII, 392.

[7] On this see Donald Weinstein, 'Explaining God's Acts to his people: Savonarola's Spiritual Legacy to the Sixteenth Century', in John W. O' Malley, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson (eds.) *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation. Essays in honor of Charles Trinkaus* (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1993) 205-25; *idem, Savonarola and Florence: prophecy and patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1970) ch. V.

proposed for canonization by Julius II in 1509, and then by the Council of Pisa.[8] The figure of Savonarola may even have been depicted lurking behind Dante in Raphael's *Disputa* in the Vatican itself.[9] Prophecy in its turn, while suggesting a particular framework for renewal which could be justified by scripture[10], was nevertheless in touch with some currents of humanist thought and programmes of reform.[11]

Querini's association with the Aldine academy and his interests in Greek and Hebrew language and literature also contributed to the formation of his religious character. In any case striking similarities cannot be dismissed. Indeed, they reveal how a common interest in applying scriptural and humanist study to religious problems and to the reform of the Church can be found among the hermits of Camaldoli and the *piagnoni* of Florence.[12] All of these elements of prophecy, return to scriptural study, and concern for the reform of clerical morals and conduct were present in the speeches and proposals of most of the clerics at the Lateran Council. These proposals were often made with a sense of urgency which was related to millenarian hopes and fears derived from scripture, the discovery of new lands in America and Asia, and the perceived threat of the Muslims in the east. In this chapter these proposals, including those of Egidio of Viterbo, will be examined and compared with those of the hermits in order to build up a clear picture of reformist thought in Italy on the eve of the Reformation.

The way in which the diplomatic and military struggle between Pope Julius II and King Louis XII of France moved into the arena of religious confrontation with the schismatic Council of Pisa - Milan - Lyons of 1511-13 and the calling of the Fifth Lateran Council of 1512-17 has received renewed attention in recent years.[13] After Agnadello Julius II withdrew from the League of Cambrai and made a separate peace with Venice, fearing that no Italian state would be strong enough to resist foreign control of Italy and the papacy. When Julius had deposed Alfonso d' Este, Duke of Ferrara from his ducal office and placed him under ecclesiastical censure, Louis XII,

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[8] R. Ridolfi, *La vita di Girolamo Savonarola* 2 vols., (Rome, 1952) II, 37.
[9] Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (Newhaven and London, 1983) 65-66.
[10] Christ himself appealed to the prophets: Matthew 13.17, and Luke 4.21. His resurrection and ascension fulfilled prophecy: Acts 2.14-36. St Paul appealed to the prophecies contained in the Old Testament texts: Hebrews *passim*.
[11] On this see John W. O'Malley, 'Historical Thought and the Reform Crisis of the Early Sixteenth Century', in *idem, Rome and the Renaissance. Studies in culture and religion* (London, 1981) 531-48.
[12] Professor Brian Pullan has described how the early fifteenth-century revival of classicism was also accompanied by a quickening of piety among Franciscan and Benedictine Observants. Scriptural studies went hand in hand with humanism. See his *A History of Early Renaissance Italy* (London, 1973) ch.15.
[13] For what follows see the essays collected in Nelson H. Minnich, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17)* (Aldershot, 1993); and Francis Oakley, 'Conciliarism at the Fifth Lateran Council?' *Church History* 41 (1972) 452-63.

to whom he owed allegiance, decided to to resist the pope's call to make peace with Venice, and to attack Julius in the spiritual sphere. In September, 1510 the Synod of Tours reasserted the liberties of the Gallican church and demanded a council, with Maximilian's support. In October of that year five cardinals fled to the French out of personal fear of Julius. However, the pope resisted both this, and an earlier Venetian call for a council, and he worked to preserve the spiritual powers of the papacy in other areas (such as the appointment of bishops in Venetian sees) as vigorously as he defended papal temporal claims.

During the summer of 1511, Julius sought to temporize by entering into talks with France. However, he also tried to form an anti-French league, and in October he deprived the schismatic Cardinals Carvajal and Borgia of their offices. The schismatic council formally opened at Pisa in November 1511. During 1512 Julius at first sought to drive a wedge between Maximilian and Louis XII of France, and then took advantage of French troop withdrawal after Gaston de Foix's pyrrhic victory at Ravenna. After the Council moved to Lyons the Holy League decided to replace the pro-French Soderini government in Florence with a pro-papal Medici regime. Duke Massimiliano Sforza was to be installed as a figurehead ruler of Milan, and the Emperor Maximilian adhered to the league, leaving France obliged to turn to Venice for a mutual defence treaty.

Following Giovanni de' Medici's election as Pope Leo X in March 1513, the schismatic cardinals asked to be reconciled with the pope, and this is what happened in June of that year. At the same time the French were defeated at Novara by the Holy League of England and the empire which Leo had secretly supported. During the summer and autumn of 1513 the papacy, concerned to have an ally against Maximilian who was trying to make Venice abandon her French ally, negotiated the ending of the schism with France. On 19 December 1513, at the eighth session of the Lateran Council the French mandate renouncing the Pisan council and adhering to the Lateran was read. During the subsequent three years the pope set about asserting papal authority and replacing the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges with a concordat which eliminated the legal pretext for an autonomous French Church.[14]

Leo's election was greeted with general favour in Europe, even at the French court. The 'possesso' of 11 April 1513 was a particularly splendid affair with the streets and courtiers of Rome richly decorated and attired. At the end of the bridge of S. Angelo was erected the first of the triumphal arches, on which were inscribed the words: 'To

[14] R. J. Knecht, 'The Concordat of 1516: A Re-Assessment', in H. Cohn (ed.) *Government in Reformation Europe* (London, 1971) 91-112.

Leo the Tenth, the promoter of ecclesiastical unity and peace among Christian nations'.[15] On 29 March 1513, the pope's nephew Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII) wrote to Giuliano de' Medici that His Holiness' sole care henceforward would be to give to Christendom the much-needed peace, in ecclesiastical as well as in political matters.[16] Thus, Leo reconciled himself with the Soderini, and showed forbearance towards Carvajal and Sanseverino. In his attitude towards France and Venice he also maintained an appearance of neutrality despite the treaty of Blois concluded by them and the contrary efforts of the Spanish and Imperial ambassadors.[17] For his part, Giuliano de' Medici urged Louis XII's case for papal non-intervention in the French invasion of Milan.[18] However, Leo sought to protect Milan by making secret payments to the Holy League (Maximilian, King Henry VIII of England, and King Ferdinand of Spain) which were finally acknowledged on 25 May 1513.[19]

After Novara, Leo resisted Henry VIII's demands for help with the subjugation of Venice and in his letters of congratulation he exhorted the victors to observe mercy and peace essential in the face of the growing Turkish threat. However, Venetian obstinacy on the question of Verona and Vicenza, and the Republic's delay in offering the 'obedientia' led Leo to favour Maximilian's request of 200 papal troops to send against Venice. Leo made protestations of amity towards Venice[20], while Venice warned that it might appeal to the Turks for help.[21] The pope exhorted Maximilian to make peace with Venice and resist war with France. After Venice's defeat on 7 October 1513 the Venetian government gave the pope full power to make peace on the terms he wished, just as he was urging England and France to make peace with one another.[22]

Recent studies have reassessed the significance of the Fifth Lateran Council and have sought to nuance the view that it was 'a great non-event in the religious history of the sixteenth century', and to suggest that its bulls and discussions merit further study. One historian has argued that conciliarist ideas were discussed at the council despite the apparent condemnation of them there, and the council's role as a curialist response to the schismatic council.[23] Other research has shown how reform proposals at the

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15 For a description of the splendid *possesso* of 1513 see von Pastor (1891-1910) VII, 35-43.
16 *Ibid*, 43.
17 Sanudo, XVI: coll.50-51, 130, 133, 148, 153, 159, 170-73, 179.
18 *Ibid.* col. 225.
19 *Ibid.* coll. 331, 354, 356, 357, 364.
20 *Ibid.* coll. 445, 468, 485.
21 *Ibid.* coll. 513, 557.
22 Von Pastor (1891-1910) VII, 59-78.
23 Oakley (1972). The quotation here is from *ibid.*, 452.

Fifth Lateran Council were based on the whole upon the holy scripture and the writings of the early Christian Fathers.[24] While condemning the evils of the times, they looked optimistically towards the future. In several memorials, just as in that of the hermits, there was an emphasis upon the juridical aspect of the Church - the hierarchy making and enforcing laws of conduct. The Church was variously seen as a flock in need of a shepherd, or as a 'civitas perfecta' where the faithful gathered to live in peace and unity, or it was the bride of Christ. The Church would be purified or returned to pristine holiness by a pope with temporal and spiritual instruments. He was held to have chief juridical authority in the Church and was a principal agent of reform, although others, such as the hermits, thought that the synod might be an important means of reforming the clergy. The failure to hold frequent councils, schism, and the ambitions of princes, selfishness, neglect of Christ, failure to enforce laws, or to respect ancient practices were various sources of evil which were put forward as being in the Church. All agreed that the clergy had neglected the pastoral office and were guilty of ignorance and disrespect for the sacraments and scripture, and even of heresy.

Reform would be brought about by the restoration of justice; the preaching of scripture; or by frequent councils (as the hermits, Egidio of Viterbo, and Simon de Gargiis proposed). The law provided a necessary focus of reform for some speakers, and the hermits proposed reform of canon law (as did the Bishops at Burgos). A few speakers urged 'reformatio in capite' - pope and curia downwards; some focused on bishops; like Pico, most began with the clergy. Morals were generally the object of reform based on the observance of Church law - decrees of former councils, previous canons and laws, the *instituta*, and the teachings of the Fathers. Egidio of Viterbo and Antonio Pucci were interested in returning to primitive Christianity. Millenarianism and the fear of divine punishment were *Leitmotivs*, particularly from the eighth session onwards. Simon de Gargiis predicted the advent of a Golden Age, and Egidio of Viterbo expressed his fear of God's wrath very strongly. The hermits themselves felt that the Church was in its last days. Others predicted the assaults of the Muslims; schism; discontent among foreign nations; and the wrath of God.

Egidio of Viterbo wrote to Antonio 'Puccio' (probably Antonio Pucci) in July 1508 comparing Rome to Babylon.[25] The General of the Augustinian Hermits wished to interpret history through scripture and classical myth. He studied Hebrew and the

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[24] For what follows see Minnich (1993) ch. IV, 227-36. The proceedings of the Council are printed in Giovanni Domenico Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and elsewhere, 1758-1962) XXXII, coll. 649-1002.

[25] John W. O' Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden, 1968) 132, n.2.

cabbala and from his neo-Platonism he derived a belief that there was a primitive pre-Christian revelation of divine truth and purpose. He believed that a cabbalistic exegesis could be applied to the grammar and syntax of Hebrew. In his theology of history Egidio outlined a cabbalistic sequence of ages during which he traced the decline of the Church. However, the opening up of new lands by King Manuel of Portugal and Ferdinand of Spain accorded with Psalm 19 which declared that God's glory extended throughout the earth. Egidio cited these together with the election of Leo X who was a member of the Medici family and therefore a potential 'medicus' of the Church as signs of the approaching Tenth Age of Christian world harmony. He emphasized eremitic asceticism and the study of scripture.[26]

Considering his close affinities with the thought of the hermits in their *Libellus*, it is worth briefly considering how well Egidio knew the two Venetians. Egidio was a theological student, and he edited three works of Egidio of Rome at the Augustinian *Studium generale* at Padua between 1490 and ca.1493 when Querini and Giustiniani were also students at the university there.[27] He certainly knew and respected Gasparo Contarini, and Pietro Bembo by 1527.[28] Egidio was also in Venice in 1503, 1504, 1505, and 1507 on diplomatic missions for Julius II, and he also preached in favour of Venice's joining the crusade to which he gave strong support at this time.[29] It is now possible to demonstrate that Egidio, who had known and influenced Pontano while he was in Naples during 1499-1501, brought the manuscript of Pontano's *Aegidio* to Venice in 1503 and gave it to Querini.[30] Egidio could have known Querini through Agostino Nifo whom he knew at Padua and whose lectures he attended, although Nifo was still an Averroist and Egidio was increasingly anti-Averroist.[31] In 1503 Nifo had referred to Querini as his 'colleague' and former student.[32]

Egidio certainly shared the hermits' fascination with the 'poetic veil' of divine wisdom in the poetry of the 'prisci theologia', Pontano, Jacopo Sanazzaro, and Angelo Poliziano. He was also interested in Origen, and in 1503 Aldus Manutius dedicated

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[26] See Egidio's 1507 discourse in St Peter's , Rome where he links the idea of the Golden Age with Scripture and Manuel's recent victories in India: O'Malley (1981) ch. V. More generally see *idem*, (1968).
[27] O' Malley (1968) 7.
[28] Lucillo Filalteo, *Lucilli Philalthaei Artium...Libri tres Epistolarum in adolescentia familiarum nunc primum in lucem Editi...* (Io. Ant. Bissi: Pavia, 1564) ff. 41r-42v records how Egidio fled to Venice from Rome after it had been sacked. There he met Contarini, and in Padua he met Bembo who commiserated with Egidio over the loss of his Hebrew books in the sack.
[29] On Egidio's presence in Venice and his postulated influence on the upsurge in eucharistic brotherhoods in Venice during 1506-7 see R. S. Mackenney, 'Continuity and change in the *scuole piccole* of Venice, c. 1250-c. 1600', *Renaissance Studies* 8/4 (1994) 388-403: 397-98.
[30] See above, ch. 2.
[31] O' Malley (1968) 41.
[32] See above, ch. 1.

his edition of Origen's *Homilies* to Egidio. Like Querini, he approved of the drastic anti-Jewish policies of the Spanish monarchs although he had friendly relations with individual Jews and was interested in Hebrew and the cabbala. Querini might not have disagreed with Egidio's praise of papal building projects and the adornment of liturgical vestments and furnishings. He would have concurred with Egidio's concern for the Turkish threat to Christendom, although not with his related eschatological framework in its most cabbalistic and Joachimite elements. In his individual monastic reforms, Egidio seems to have aimed to restore practices to their original purity, insisting on the Augustinian rule (which he had published in 1508) and observation of the Augustinian Order's charters as well as papal documents. Similarly, the Church was to be united like Plato's ideal republic, and its personnel from the pope downwards should lead exemplary lives.

As far as Egidio was concerned the Church and all mankind were moving towards a religious climax and the renewal of theology, scriptural studies, and poetry was part of this movement. He longed for one pastor and one flock, for world unity centred on Rome. However, Egidio was more 'conservative' than the hermits in that his reforms were not suited to the actual conditions of the Renaissance world, but to the ideal return to ancient traditions which would inevitably take place as part of an eschatological cycle. At the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council he famously declared in an address later printed with a preface by Jacopo Sadoleto dedicated to Pietro Bembo: 'Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men.' [33]

ii. The *Libellus ad Leonem X*

According to notes made by Giustiniani and preserved at Frascati, the hermits travelled to Florence from Camaldoli for the chapter-general of the Camaldolese Order in February 1513. The following May they left Florence for Rome and remained there until 9 August. Vettore Lippomano's letter of mid-May 1513 recorded the presence of the hermits in Rome to ask Leo for a bull to confirm their reforms.[34] By 19 August they had returned to Camaldoli.[35] The *Libellus* was probably drafted in large part before the arrival of the hermits in Rome.[36] At one point in it they wrote of

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[33] O' Malley (1968) 55-9, 67-70, 84, 113-14, 129-30, 135-38, 141-46, 149-55, 157-59, 161-70, 177-78. An English translation of Egidio's address to the Council is conveniently found in John C. Olin, *Catholic Reform from Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent: an essay with illustrative documents and a brief study of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (New York, 1990) document 1. The phrase: 'men must be changed by religion, not religion by men' is found at *ibid.* 48.

[34] Sanudo XVI, col. 308.

[35] *TLF* I, 15.

[36] On the *Libellus*, the manuscript of which is now lost, see: F. Gilbert, 'Cristianesimo, umanesimo e la bolla "Apostolici Regiminis" del 1513', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 79 (1967) 976-90; S. Tramontin, 'Un programma di riforma della chiesa per il concilio Lateranense V: il "Libellus ad Leonem X" dei

their belief that Leo would continue the work of the Lateran Council, which seems to indicate that they were writing before 11 April 1513 when Leo issued a Constitution proclaiming his intention to proceed with the Council, and proroguing the sixth session to 27 April 1513.[37] A good number of references to Leo, as well as a play on the word 'medicus' (suggesting that Leo would act as a doctor to the ailing Church) at several points place the work firmly after Leo's election on 11 March 1513.[38] So too does their praise of Giuliano de' Medici and the special crusading role they assigned to him.[39] They noted that Giuliano and Leo had called the hermits from Florence to Rome, and that they had recently arrived. However, they also noted the reconciliation of the schismatic cardinals with Leo, which suggests that they worked on the *Libellus* sometime after 17 or 27 June 1513.[40]

The *Libellus ad Leonem X* is divided into six parts. In the first part the hermits briefly considered the power of the pope and the extent of his authority. In the second part they examined the necessity of the conversion of Jews and idolaters. Part Three consisted of a proposal for conversion of the Muslims, by a crusade if necessary. Part Four examined the parts of Christendom which were divided from the Roman Church. Part Five constituted the main body of reform proposals, while the final section returned to a consideration of the temporal authority of the pope.[41]

The hermits noted how they had been recently called by Leo X and his brother, Giuliano de' Medici from Florence to the assembly at Rome. Abjuring eloquence in Latin, they now addressed their writings to Leo, noting how great were the hopes for a reform of the Church, and recalling Leo's involvement in the reform of the Camaldolese Order at Julius II's behest. They noted that Leo's elevation would mean that he could 'begin to repair the collapsing church of Christ, and restore it to its former glory'.[42] They observed that Leo had been appointed, and that:

Veneziani P. Giustiniani e P. Quirini.' 67-93 in A. Niero *et al* (eds.) *Venezia e i concili* (Venice, 1972) consists of a paraphrase of the work and biographies of the hermits; and S. Tramontin, 'Il problema delle chiese separate nel "Libellus ad Leonem X" dei Veneziani Paolo Giustiniani e Pietro Quirini (1513)', *Studia Patavina* XI (1964) 275-82; Leclerq (1951). Professor Eugenio Massa announced in 1978 that he would publish a work entitled *Paolo Giustiniani e il "Libellus ad Leonem X" , prime considerazioni*. However, this has not yet appeared although it is cited as being 'in corso di stampa' in his *L' eremo, la Bibbia e il Medioevo in Umanisti veneti del primo Cinquecento* (Naples, 1992)13 and *ibid. passim* for references to specific sections in this work.

[37] *AC* IX col.652. Von Pastor (1891-1910) VIII, 385.

[38] *AC* IX coll. 625, 671, 675.

[39] *Ibid.* coll. 653, 715.

[40] On 12 July 1513 a letter from Querini in Rome to the *collegio* was read in Venice. It concerned the Venetian ambassador in Rome. Sanudo XVI, col. 500.

[41] *AC* IX col.614.

[42] '...labentem Christi Ecclesiam reparare, atque in pristinum suae claritatis decorem reducere inciperes'. *Ibid.* col..615.

> ...He [i.e. God] subjected the whole world to your governance and leadership not so that you should live a life on earth content with the variety of worldly glory, or luxury, idleness and vice - these things have always been alien to you - but rather for this reason: that by your hard work, concern and wisdom one state of all human creatures serving Christ the Lord should be set up on earth, according to the pattern of the Heavenly Kingdom.[43]

They emphasized that papal authority extended over the whole world, recalling the Apostles who were sent out by God to all people so that they might enter into the faith of Christ. However, they were at pains to avoid the conciliar implications of this statement, and they emphasized that the power of the pope had been transferred by God to earth in the form of Christ, who gave Peter his authority. According to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke[44], and the authority of the early synods, this plenitude of papal power had been given to Peter alone who was, as his successors were, the sole earthly authority of God. Therefore, no-one could doubt that papal authority extended over all people, all kingdoms, and over Italy, Europe, Africa, Asia, and the whole of the known world, including heretics and all those people living impiously. The hermits concluded this thoroughly 'monarchical' view of papal power by considering it in terms of the pope's spiritual rather than secular concerns. They concluded that:

> ...it should not escape you that the true Church of God is not the cities of earthly habitation, nor buildings made by hands, but a congregation of men...God does not dwell in buildings made by men, but, as the Apostle Paul bears witness, men themselves are the Holy Temple of God.[45]

The pope should therefore strive to emend anything which was unseemly or indecorous, and to imitate Christ in the care of souls more than cities and empires, for Christ died on the cross for the salvation of the least of souls.

The hermits called on the pope to observe the dispersal of Jews around the world in greater numbers than infidels. They compared the impiety of the infidels with that of the Jews:

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[43] '...ut inani Pontificis nomine, aut mundanae gloriae vanitate contentus, luxu, otio, atque ignavia, quae a Te semper aliena fuere, in Terris vitam duceres; sed ea potius ratione universum Terrarum orbem tuo moderamini, imperioque subjecit, ut per industriam, sollicitudinem, ac sapientiam tuam ad instar Coelestis Regni una humanarum omnium Creaturarum Christo Domino servientium Respublica constitueretur in Terra'. *Ibid.* col. 615.

[44] Matthew 16.18; Luke 22.32.

[45] 'Veram autem Ecclesiam Dei, non terrenae habitationis civitates, aut manufacta aedificia, sed hominum Congregationem esse te latere non debet...Deus enim non in manufactis inhabitat, sed Templum Sanctum Dei, Pauli Apostoli testimonio, homines ipsi sunt...' *AC* IX col.618. For St Paul's views see I Cor. 3.16-17; II Cor. 6.16.

> Besides the Jews there is a significant number who neither worship Christ, nor are ever believed to have worshipped [Him], the great islands of the western oceans testify to this (if they are to be thought islands and not parts of a continent) which were not known until this age, great kingdoms were found there, in which a multitude of people is said to live who have never heard of Christ.[46]

The impiety of the Jews could not be excused on the grounds of their ignorance of Christ, and it was rather the case that they did not accept Him as a result of the obduracy of their hearts. The hermits added that the word of God was preached in all parts of the world but that the message had been obliterated and forgotten as time had passed. As 'medicus' of all souls, the pope had to find a remedy for both Jews and infidels. They could be brought into the true faith by means of the 'gentle persuasion of their souls', and 'works of charity'.[47] Although the holy canons (as confirmed by Pope Boniface VIII ca. 1300)[48] did not allow for forcible conversion, nevertheless the wealth which had been gained by the Jews through usury might be given to the poor in the form of food and clothes by the bishops. The newly converted should donate their wealth to the cities where they were baptized, or restrictive force could be used against those who persisted in their own faith. According to the hermits, such Jews should be banned from practising usury with Christians, they should also be prohibited from trading; they should not be allowed to reside in one place for a long time; they should not be allowed to have synagogues 'libere', nor carry out their ceremonies; they should be restricted to an area apart from Christians, and they should not be allowed to walk or travel without bearing some sign.[49]

To those whose hearts continued to be hard, and their doctrine and morals depraved, the hermits insisted upon the administration of the 'verbum vitae'. This consisted of scripture rather than of the writings of the Doctors, or of philosophy. The hermits also suggested that the pope should grant indulgences to those who wished to trust to the intercessionary power of prayers. However, nothing seemed to be more expedient than an expulsion of the Jews from Christian lands, particularly as the people had been led into the interpretation of dreams; the observation of days and the prediction

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[46] 'Praeter Judaeos autem non parvum esse eorum hominum numerum, qui neque nunc Christum colunt, neque unquam coluisse creduntur, illae testantur Occidentalis Oceani magnae Insulae, (si modo Insulae, & non Continentis partes esse existimantur) quae ad hoc usque saeculum omnibus incognitae, a magnis illis Occidentalibus Regibus repertae fuere, in quibus innumerabilis populorum multitudo habitare dicitur, quibus Christi Nomen nunquam fuisse notum existimatur'. *Ibid.* col.621. America was first shown as a separate continent in the world map published in 1507 by Martin Waldseemüller.

[47] 'Judaeis prodesse fortasse poteris, si ii animi blanditiis, atque omnibus humanitatis officiis ad Fidem alliciantur...' *Ibid.* col.622.

[48] See Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Oxford, 1983) 59.

[49] 'Non injusta esse haec credimus, neque violenta, quae ad conterendam sane cordis eorum duritiam non inutilia fortasse reperientur'. *AC* IX, col.623.

of the future; and other pernicious arts as a result of the presence of Jews.[50] The hermits probably had in mind the example of Spain's expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and Portugal's similar act in 1497. In 1506 Querini had praised the actions of the Spanish Inquisition against the 'marranos'. His later admiration for the king of Portugal was based on the Portuguese territorial discoveries and the conversion of their pagan inhabitants. However, he probably also admired the king's action against the Jews. In 1519 a Venetian nobleman declared that, by expelling the Jews the king had been rewarded by God with the opening of a route to India, and that he had been made a veritable 'King of Gold'.[51]

The hermits' hard line against the Jewish faith was consonant with the suspicions and fears of Jewish 'perfidia' which marked the European middle ages. Many people believed that the Jews were determined not only to reject Christianity, but also to undermine it. The common association between Jews and the practice of witchcraft, sorcery, and other superstitious activities was made by the hermits who were concerned that Christians were being drawn into the occult. Their proposals to remedy the 'problem' of the Jews by expulsion, conversion, or containment, foreshadow the practices of Italian secular and ecclesiastical authorities later in the century. Jewish involvement in witchcraft or sorcery and their 'seduction' of Christians into the occult were grounds for inquisitorial investigation in Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, the conversion of the Jews in Venice was closely associated with the propitiation of God during the difficult years 1509-16, as the Lenten baptisms of Jews during this period seem to indicate.[52] It has also been argued that the foundation of the first Jewish 'ghetto' in Venice in 1516 was a 'form of penance and had the character of prayer' in the tense circumstances of 1509-17, and specifically in the context of the threat of the Emperor Maximilan's march on Milan in 1516.[53] The hermits' proposal for the restriction of the Jews to one area certainly seems to anticipate, at least in general terms, the Venetian example of 1516 as well as the Roman ghetto established by Paul IV by the 1555 bull - *Cum nimis absurdum.*

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[50] 'Vere enim, si ad Christianae plebis commodum, salutemque pie respexeris, nihil in toto hoc Judaeorum negotio expediens magis, opportunumque videbitur, quam eos penitus ex omnibus Christianae Dominationis Regionibus, capitis etiam poena constituta, expellere...'; 'Inde enim inanissimorum somniorum inaniores interpretationes: inde dierum observationes, futurorum praedictiones: inde aliae multae pessimae, humanoque generi perniciosissimae artes, quasi ex omnium impietatem fonte in miserabile Christianum vulgus derivant'. *Ibid.* col.625.

[51] '...e che saria bon cazarli dil mondo, e Dio prosperarve a questa Republica, come fe' ab re di Portogalo, che, cazadi, trovono el navegar di l' India et l'ha fato Re di l' oro...' Sanudo XXVII, col.359.

[52] Pullan (1983) 73, 247-8 and n.11. On attempts to convert Jews in Italy, especially after 1550, see *ibid.* ch. 14.

[53] Robert Finlay, 'The Foundation of the Ghetto: Venice, the Jews, and the War of the League of Cambrai', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 126 (1982) 140-54: 154.

The hermits argued that, since the cause of the impiety of the people of the newly discovered lands in the west was simply their ignorance of Christ they might be converted more easily than the Jews. The people of those islands or continent were neither Jews, Christians, nor Muslims, but were devoted to the worship of the sun, the moon, and certain animals. The Christian princes had sent priests to instruct them in their own language in the institutions of the Christian faith, and to preach on the crucifixion and Christ's suffering. The hermits noted here that Querini had learned about this when he was Venetian ambassador in Spain.[54] They were therefore aware that the task of announcing the news of Christ, and the business of undertaking baptisms of the inhabitants of 'occidentalem Indiam' had been initiated by the Franciscan friars who had built sixteen friaries there.

The hermits called on the pope to send more men to preach to the pagans through interpreters or by the example of their Christian lives. In addition, these men would begin to instruct them in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. In support of this proposal they cited the authority of St Paul: 'How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?'[55] In order to facilitate Paul's command, younger and docile men should be sent to learn the language of the infidels. The hermits themselves offered to undertake this mission, a task, they added, which would be to the glory of Leo and his successors.[56] This offer to imitate the Franciscans in their overseas missionary activities is very much at odds with the enclosed and fixed nature of the Camaldolese hermitage and monastery, and its traditions. The hermits' zeal in this area indicates their concern for the newly discovered lands, and they foreshadow the Jesuits in their feeling that the contemplative life could be extended through the word which would, as their proposals for a crusade show, be enforced by the sword.

The third part of the *Libellus* proposed a crusade as a means of conversion, particularly of the Muslims.[57] The hermits argued that a crusade was justified

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[54] 'Non falsum autem omnino existimamus, quod omnes totius Hispaniae populi manifestissime testantur. Dum enim apud eos Reges ego Petrus pro Venetorum Republica, cui tunc inserviebam, Legatus, agerem, hoc ab omnibus aperte praedicari audivi, nullamque prorsus aliam ad eorum gentium conversionem difficutatem esse accepi, quam eorum linguam addiscere'. *AC* IX. col.626.

[55] *Ibid.* coll.626-27. Romans 10.14.

[56] 'Si enim nos, qui heri, aut nudius tertius, relictis saeculi vanitatibus, Christi jugum suscepimus, qui omnium Monachorum postremi, omnium Religiosorum minimi sumus, omnibusque minus idonei, ut ad hoc opus vel postremi a Te eligamur, id tamen non desiderare non possumus, & si a Te nobis mitti contigerit, id magni muneris loco habituri sumus. Nihil enim in hac vita nobis optatius contingere posset, quam inter Gentes, quae Christum minime cognoscunt, religiosum Christi nomen, non temere a nobis hoc praesumentes, sed a Te missi praedicare'. *Ibid.* coll.628, 629.

[57] On crusades and crusade proposals in the sixteenth century see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992) chs. 4 & 13. He argues that military

according to the holy canons, and the pope must therefore assume a special role in settling peace among the princes of Europe who were currently at war, so that the Christian nations could unite against the enemy. Christian blood would have to be shed in order to save European Christianity, and victory would be possible because the Muslims were divided amongst themselves. However, the hermits noted the savagery of the Muslims in general, and of the Janissaries and Mamluks in particular. Since the Romans had been unable to defeat the Moors, Leo was warned that a crusade might be a difficult undertaking.[58] However, having praised Leo's piety, the hermits outlined a strategy for the defeat of the Muslims.[59]

In this strategy Leo would have to avoid an alliance of the Turks, Moors, Arabs, and Persians. He would ally with the powerful Sophy of Persia who would launch a co-ordinated attack against the Turks with the Christian powers. Legates were to be sent to attempt to convert the Soldan of Egypt. The hermits thought that the Moors could be converted if the Soldan and the major figures of the Mamluk state were promised some part of the defeated Ottoman Empire, and embraced Christianity. If the Soldan and Sophy could not be converted they should at least assure Leo that they would not join the Turks in attacking the crusaders. Once the Turks were defeated, neither the Mamluks nor the Persians, nor the inhabitants of the North African coast, could resist. In addition, 100 million Christian subjects of the Turks would rise up against them. Both the pope and his brother were to serve religion in this way:

> The faithful would have the Supreme Pontiff Leo residing in the Holy See, and the infidels would feel another Leo, Giuliano the brother of the Supreme Pontiff, leading an army against them and fighting them.[60]

Having dealt with these enemies the pope was to turn to the Christians of Africa and Asia, the Greeks, the Christian communities in the east, and others. The Christian nations of Africa and Asia inhabited a greater amount of land than the whole of Europe. In some cases they were negligent in their observance of Christian practices and institutions, and in their obedience to the Church in Rome. Some dissented deliberately from the apostolic decrees while others were negligent through the interposition of distance and language. It was the duty of the Shepherd to ensure that

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activity and the literature associated with crusades should be taken more seriously by historians who have dismissed late medieval or Renaissance crusading schemes. However, he does not mention the hermits and their detailed proposals in his study.

[58] *AC* IX, coll.630-37.

[59] '...quoniam non modo, postquam Romanorum Cardinalium ordini tenera adhuc aetate annumeratus accessisti, sed ab ipsa instantia tua hoc tam sanctum, tam pium desiderium in pectore tuo versatum audivimus'. *Ibid.* coll. 638; 641ff.

[60] 'Fideles Leonem Summum Pontificem in Apostolica Sede residentem habeant, & Infideles Leonem alterum Summi Pontificis Fratrem Julianum, contra se exercitum ducentem, pugnantemque sentiant'. *Ibid.* coll. 653; 643-54.

all souls were cared for since the Lord had said: 'Do not care for ecclesiastical law, do not care for the defeat of cities, do not care for the accumulation of riches, but care for my flocks, my sheep...What is the Church if not the congregation of souls?'[61] The Seven Nations of Christians, which were divided by language and ceremonial usage must be brought into conformity in their religious practice and into obedience to the pope.[62] Six years previously Giustiniani himself had observed at Jerusalem the diversity of religious practices in baptism and marriage of the Abyssinians, Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, and Maronites. They regarded the See of Rome as merely one of several apostolic Churches. The hermits proposed that the Gospels should form the basis for conformity of practices. Learned men and legates should be sent to each nation, and bishops of each of these nations should be called to the Lateran Council. In addition, the Bishop of Cremona (Girolamo Trevisan) would be a suitable choice for a mission to the Greeks, whose beliefs and practices did not easily accommodate those of the Latins.[63]

Finally, they turned to reform of the Church. Christendom, which was now in its last period of history, was no longer as pure and simple in its piety as it had been at the beginnings of faith. The greed and ambition of secular princes and the ignorance and superstition of the faithful had brought this about. The hermits repeated their suggestion that the pope send cardinal legates to the Christian princes in order to establish a peace that was based on justice.[64] The problem of the ignorance of the laity, which had led to impious practices and false opinions about the true faith, was to be solved by tackling the ignorance of the clergy. Barely one or two out of one hundred of the clergy understood Latin, and those who did, spent their time reading non-religious works. Clerical studies were once again to emphasize holy scripture, the ancient Fathers, and the canons and decrees of the Church. Nor should anyone be admitted to holy orders unless he could read and understand these works. Sermons preached to the laity were to be based on these writings together with the ten commandments, articles of faith, and Epistles and Gospels translated into the vernacular. Canon law was to be revised so that it could be more easily understood.[65]

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[61] '...non jura Ecclesiastica tuere, non vindica civitates, non divitias cumula, sed pasce oves, pasce agnos meos, quamquam verae Ecclesiae jura tueri, est animarum salutem omnibus modis curare. Quae enim Ecclesia est, nisi animarum congregatio ?' *Ibid.* col.657.
[62] *Ibid.* coll.661-62.
[63] *Ibid.* coll.659-67. And indeed, three envoys from the Maronites came to offer obedience to Leo in Rome in December, 1516. In addition, Leo was in correspondence with the Emperor of Abyssinia, David III. Von Pastor (1891-1910) VIII, 402-03.
[64] *AC* IX coll.670-74.
[65] *Ibid.* coll.675-82.

As superstition had affected the clergy and laity alike, the books on the divining arts and their authors were to be condemned by the pope, the books destroyed, and those practising black arts burnt alive or sent into perpetual exile if they were not repentant. Astrology and astrologers were condemned. The sick were to be forbidden to go to those 'doctors' who used bogus cures, charms, words, and poems. The hermits scorned the idea that certain prayers could heal specific parts of the body, or that miraculous images and pictures carried in procession could heal the sick, induce rain, or promote fertility.[66] Superstitions which came from ignorance would be partially corrected if the people understood scripture, divine offices, and church canons.[67] Failure to observe the rules of one's own state of life was the last major source of evils among the Christian peoples. The hermits examined these diseases in detail and suggested remedies for each clerical rank of the Church, beginning with the pope.[68]

In their *Libellus* the hermits wanted the pope's household to provide an example for the conduct of the whole of the city, and indeed for the world. They wrote that they found the customs of the pope decorous and they hoped that they would soon find the habits of the cardinals, bishops, and clerics similarly arranged and the pope concerning himself with the reform of the monastic orders.[69] It is therefore very interesting to find a much more critical account of the papal household drafted by Querini, among the manuscripts at Frascati.[70] In it he asserted that ecclesiastical reform should begin with the reform of the papal household. The members of Leo's household who were not in necessary occupations, particularly women, should return home, and his entire household reduced to one third of its present size. Leo should also remove all gold and silk hangings from private and public rooms and his own bed and give them up for holy purposes. However, in 1515-16 Leo X actually commissioned silk, gold, and silver tapestries for the lower register of the Sistine Chapel wall, for which Raphael executed cartoons of designs which consisted of scenes from the Gospels.[71] The clothing of his household and of his mules and horses

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[66] Mr Michael Bury presented a paper entitled 'The fifteenth-century processional banners of Perugia' to the conference: 'The Sacred and the Profane in Medieval and Renaissance Italy', held at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (September, 1995). This paper will be published in 1998 with the rest of the conference papers as 'The fifteenth and early sixteenth-century *Gonfaloni* of Perugia'. I would like to thank Mr Bury for allowing me to read his paper prior to publication. Querini's condemnation of these banners seems to ignore the fact that their devotional and intercessionary purposes were approved by the Church.

[67] *AC* IX, coll.680-88.

[68] Compare Pullan (1983) 11.

[69] *AC* IX, col. 699. On the Portuguese campaign of 1513 see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne* 3 vols., (Paris, 1937; facsimile reprint Geneva, 1991) I, 62, n.1.

[70] Listed in *TLF* I, 157; printed by Hubert Jedin, 'Vincenzo Quirini und Pietro Bembo' 153-66 in *Kirche des Glaubens-Kirche der Geschichte: ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge* I (Freiburg, 1966) 165-66.

[71] Jones and Penny (1983) 133.

was to be restricted, and his meals simple and accompanied by the reading of holy matters, or by the discussion of edifying material. Querini added that there was also clear need for the reformation of monastic morals.[72] The Florentines and Tuscans who had done well in the distribution of offices under Leo would have looked askance at such proposals of frugality. Dr Humphrey Butters has pointed out that curial office went to Florentines already well-established in the Roman *milieu* through Medici service, business interests or previous curial experience.[73] At court and in the papal diplomatic service, men of proven Medicean loyalty were rewarded and others such as Francesco Vettori, ambassador in Rome, were excluded.

In the *Libellus* itself the hermits proposed that reform should begin with the pope since 'the ecclesiastical order is such that, should he who holds the highest place grow weak through illness, all the lower orders will of necessity become sickly'.[74] The pope had a plenitude of powers giving him responsibility for the conduct of the lower clerical orders. If he was negligent in this, he shared in their sins. It was primarily by the example of his life and by his teaching that he was to lead others to fulfil their duties. Laws and statutes were also to be employed to bring about this reformation. The pope was to see that these were properly observed and abuses punished.[75] The hermits rebuked anyone who might have questioned the pope's authority. His plenitude of power had been given from Heaven.[76] This may be an oblique reference to the schismatic cardinals whom the hermits had met in Florence. According to the hermits' letter of 1 May 1513 to Giuliano de' Medici in Rome, they were staying in Florence at the monastery of Sa Maria degli Angeli and:

> Today we found the cardinals in our monastery degli Angeli, and we learnt that His Holiness has decided to recognize their case and that His Holiness is very well-disposed to whatever you cause to be promised to their lordships in your name; but they do not wish to reach Rome without your advice...[77]

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[72] A report of the Reform Commission of the Lateran Council, of October, 1513 dealt with the question of benefices, and urged members of the papal household to lead a worthy mode of life and to dress properly, and denounced exactions and other abuses. Von Pastor (1891-1910) VIII, 388.

[73] Butters (1985) 212-25.

[74] 'Sic enim in hac ecclesiastica hierarchia ordo se habet, ut illo, qui supremam sedem tenet, languescente, inferiores omnes ordines aegrotare necesse sit...' *AC* IX col.698.

[75] *Ibid.* coll.617, 699, 691-92, 713, 695.

[76] 'Qui vero aliarum Ecclesiarum Antistites Romano Pontifici Potestatis, aut Dignitatis excellentia aequare contendunt, non minus, immo multo etiam magis aberrare judicandi sunt'. *ibid.* col. 616.

[77] 'Oggi, magnifico, ritrovandoci nel monasterio nostro degli Angeli con quei reverendiss. cardinali, intendessimo la Santità di nostro Signore aver deliberato, che tre reverendiss. cardinali abbino a riconoscere la causa loro e che sua santità era dispostissima a quanto faceste promettere a loro signorie per nome vostro; ma non voleva prima che voi giungeste a Roma senza vostro consulto...' Letter of 1 May 1513: *Ibid.* col.577.

Cardinal Carvajal, one of the schismatic cardinals in Florence with whom Querini had a previous acquaintance from his embassy to Maximilian in 1507 and possibly in Rome in 1502, wrote to the two hermits on 7 May 1513. [78]

The hermits believed that the pope ought to reform the Roman curia and the cardinals, since only he was superior to and responsible for them. The conduct of cardinals was to be investigated and abuses condemned, and only men of good conduct and learning were to be appointed to high ecclesiastical office, since God would hold the pope responsible for any unbecoming behaviour among the clergy. They suggested that cardinals hold no benefices, but enjoy pensions which the pope was to examine carefully each year.[79] The cardinals in turn had primary responsibility for the archbishops and bishops who had been guilty of ignorance, superstition, ambition, avarice, pride, and incontinence: all against the divine precepts and holy scripture. Their conduct could be regulated and improved by the appointment of men of outstanding conduct and learning. These appointments would be unrelated to the wish to please princes or office seekers, and the appointees would be obliged to report annually to Rome, and to be visited by the cardinals. In turn, the bishops were to correct and admonish the lax clergy.[80]

Those among regular clergy who were guilty of heresy, superstition, and devil-worship would be dismissed by the pope. Monks would be forbidden to leave their monastery or order. Diversity within the same order would be ended. Conventuals would observe their rule more strictly, and the distinction between Conventual and Observant orders dropped. Their squabbles about the differences between Scotus and Aquinas were to be resolved by a judgement of the Church. For those who lived under the same rule, differences of dress, food, and occupations would be eliminated and uniformity established. The two major agents of reform would be chapters whose reform decrees the pope was to bind with the fullness of apostolic power, and bishops to whom religious orders were to be subject and who would personally visit monasteries. Once the religious had been reformed, the laity would follow suit, since they imitated them. Therefore laity and religious were to be prohibited from swearing, and gambling forbidden. It is curious to find that among all of these strict reforms, the hermits proposed that the Lenten fast and abstinence were no longer to be binding under pain of mortal sin (perhaps an indication of how difficult the sickly Querini had

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[78] *TLF* I, 138.

[79] *AC* IX coll.694-6, 699, 707, 711-12, 717. On Renaissance proposals for the moral conduct of cardinals and on Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* (1510) which outlines the duties of cardinals and bishops, with a humanist emphasis on education, in similar terms to the *Libellus* and *De officio episcopi* see John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (Baltimore, 1983) 229-40.

[80] *AC* IX coll.696-98. Compare *Opera* 403.

found these), and that the use of excommunication against delinquent debtors was to be forbidden. More conventionally, they noted that many priests had concubines and urged that prostitutes should be relegated to the back of the churches or expelled from Rome altogether.[81]

Finally, the hermits proposed that councils would be the most effective means of bringing about reform. Therefore, general councils were be called every five years and diocesan synods and general chapters of religious orders more often. The Lateran Council under Leo's leadership could therefore bring about the reform of Christendom.[82] Their proposal for regular councils was compatible with their monarchical interpretation of papal authority, and had been a matter considered by Querini in his work on councils composed in the previous year.[83] In this matter, as well as in the substance of their other proposals for reform the hermits clearly aimed to strengthen the authority of the pope and to maintain the ecclesiastical hierarchy. They wished to reform that hierarchy at every level and to bring its personnel into line with an apostolic ideal of good conduct and obedience. This concern was stimulated by their fears for the health of the Church and Christendom. They felt that both were tottering, and in their last age. The symptoms of this collapse were to be found in the continuing impiety of the Jews and Muslims. However, the discovery of new lands as well as the election of Leo offered a stimulus for renewal by means of the sword and the word.

iii. Crusading and prophecy

The *Libellus* was dominated by several themes which were also expressed in many of the other proposals which came out of the council. The hermits gave the pope a key role in the conversion of new Christians, and in arranging a peace between the European powers so that a crusade could be launched against the Turks. Since the Turkish-Venetian war of 1499-1502 brought the furthest advance westwards of the Turks under Bayezid II (1481-1512), it is not surprising that the hermits were concerned with the Turkish threat. There is also ample evidence to suggest that a crusade against the Turks was seriously considered by Leo X, Giuliano de' Medici, and the Lateran Council in 1513.[84] The imperial ambassador in Rome, Alberto Pio, Duke of Carpi, wrote to Maximilian after Leo's election:

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[81] *AC* IX coll.689-90, 699-703, 704-07.
[82] *Ibid.* coll.707-09.
[83] See above, pp. 74-5.
[84] On the sixteenth century crusade and its literature see Housley (1992) chs. 4 & 13.

> ...In my opinion the Pope will be as mild as a sheep rather than fierce like a lion, he will be a cultivator of peace rather than war, he will be a religious servant of Faith, he will not be a friend of the French, but nor will he be a bitter enemy like Julius, he will not neglect glory and honour, he will favour letters, orators, poets, musicians...he will not undertake war unless excessively provoked and with vehemence, with the exception of war against the infidels to which he now seems to aspire to take up...However, time changes men and 'divine power plays with human affairs'.[85]

In May and June 1513, Leo X established three commissions of cardinals and prelates charged with collecting information for the council for the cause of peace in Europe and the elimination of schism; reform of the curia and its officials; and to arrange for the abrogation of the French Pragmatic Sanction. In this way Leo also sought to fulfil Julius' three conciliar aims of combatting schism, reforming the Church, and planning a crusade. Each of the opening addresses of the first three sessions of the Lateran Council under Leo X was largely concerned with the Muslim threat and the need for a crusade.[86]

Simon Kozicic Begnius, Bishop of Modrus in Dalmatia, spoke on 27 April 1513 of the evils which had befallen the Church and the need to regain what had been lost to the Turks.[87] On 17 June 1513 Balthassar del Rio, secretary to the Spanish Jaime Cardinal Serra, dedicated a speech to Ferdinand V of Aragon, praising him for his victories over the Muslims. He asked the pope to establish peace among Christian princes and lead them against the Turks in order to free the Christians and force the Muslims into the fold.[88] On 19 December 1513 John Baptist de Gargiis, Knight of St John of Jerusalem, warned the eighth session of the council of the Turkish threat to their island fortress of Rhodes. He described Leo X as the heavenly-sent doctor ('medicus') who would restore Christian religion to health and he called on him to

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[85] '...Opinione mea pontifex maximus potius erit mitis ut agnus quam ferox ut leo, pacis erit cultor magis quam belli, erit fidei promissorumque servator religiosus, amicus Gallorum certe non erit, sed nec acer hostis ut fuerat Julius, gloriam et honorem non negliget, favebit literatis, hoc est oratoribus et poetis ac etiam musicis...bellum non suscipiet nisi plurimum lacessitus et valde coactus, excepto bello contra infideles ad quod suscipiendum iam aspirare videtur...tamen homines mutant in horas et " ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus..." Quoted in K. M. Setton, 'Leo and the Turkish Peril', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 113 (1969) 367-424; 369, n.7.

[86] *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiani ordinis Generalem* (I. Mazocchio: Rome, 6 June. 1512). See now Olin (1990) document 1.

[87] *Simo, Begnii Episcopi Modrusiensis Oratio in Sexta Lateran. Concilii Sessione. Quinto Kalenddas. Maias habita M.D.XIII* (Rome, 1513) cited in Carl Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI jahrhunderts* (Bucharest and Berlin, 1961) I, 58.

[88] *Baltasaris Del Rio Pallantini: Archidiaconi Cesenat. Sanctissimi. D. Nostri Leonis Papae Decimi Cubicularil Oratio ad eundem Dominum nostrorum Papam & Sacrosanctum Lateranensis Concilium de expeditione contra Turchas ineunda...*(I. Mazochium: Rome, 8 July, 1513). Note also the work on the same subject by Antonio Pucci, published in Rome in 1518. Both of these works are cited in Göllner (1961) I, 60, 101.

unite the Christian princes and to extend the frontiers of Christendom.[89] Indeed, it was during this session that the bull *Ad omnipotentis* (concerning a crusade) was read and printed.[90] De Gargiis appeared before the papal throne at the consistory of 6 March 1514 and once again enjoined Leo to attack the Turks before they attacked Rhodes.[91]

The Venetian ambassador in Rome also noted the pope's desire to unite Italy against the Turks in the summer of 1513. He commented that: 'He does not wish our Signory to have any other damage, and wishes to unite Italy, because of Turkish matters...'[92] It was in fact on the day of this letter that Balthassar del Rio made his plea for a crusade. The Lateran Council also agreed to send legates or nuncios to all of the Christian princes in the hope of establishing universal peace in Christendom and of uniting them in a crusade.[93] Leo wrote to King Henry VIII of England on 11 October 1513 to congratulate him on his victories over the French and Scots armies. He added the hope that he would help suppress the Turks who were now ravaging Europe.[94] Leo also wrote in a similar vein to Maximilian, and (on 28 December 1513) to the seven imperial electors, Ferdinand of Aragon, Henry VIII, and King Ladislas II of Hungary and Bohemia. He also sent remittances of money to Rhodes and Hungary[95], and he granted numerous privileges to the king of Portugal to aid him in his fight against the infidels of Africa. According to the Venetian ambassador in March 1514, there were reports of 25,000 Turks in Bosnia ready to go into Friuli so that: '...through all of Rome we talk of the Turks coming into Italy'.[96] However, Venice renewed its truce with the Turks on 17 October 1513, agreeing in effect not to intervene if the Turks attacked Sicily or southern Italy.[97]

The proposals of the *Libellus*, as well as the hermits' emphasis on the leading role of the papacy to bring about peace and to lead a crusade were clearly consonant with curial thinking on this matter. Their call for Giuliano de' Medici's military leadership

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[89] Minnich (1993) IV, 185-92.
[90] Mansi (1758-1962) XXXII coll. 843-45.
[91] Setton (1969) 377
[92] Sanudo XVI, col. 399.
[93] *Ibid.* coll. 600, 652. On 27 June 1513, Francesco Vettori, the underemployed Florentine ambassador at Rome, reviewed the European political scene in a letter to Niccolò Machiavelli. He concluded with a warning about the threat of the Turks whose Sultan was blessed with military skill, good fortune, wealth, an extensive state, loyal armies, and an alliance with the Tartars. It would not surprise him if Italy soon received a good thrashing and the priests were swept aside by the Turks. Machiavelli replied with some rather caustic comments about the supposed Turkish threat, and of the actions of King Manuel of Portugal: John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: discourses of power and desire in the Machiavelli - Vettori letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton, N.J., 1993) 151-2.
[94] Sanudo XVI, col. 227.
[95] *Ibid.* coll. 72, 129, 133, 354, 415, 532, 533.
[96] *Ibid.* XVIII, col. 32.
[97] On Venice's 'lax' attitude towards the Turks see Setton (1969) 373-74,n.29. On the truce, see *ibid.* 380-81, n.54.

is novel and rather at odds with his character as it has been traditionally described. However, in a letter from Florence written to Giuliano de' Medici at the beginning of May 1513, the hermits expressed their fervent hopes for the pope, the union of the Church, and for the crusade against the infidels, to be led by Giuliano, which might bring this about.[98] Some evidence that Giuliano might have seriously considered such an idea is found in the manuscripts at Frascati where the index indicates the presence of a transcription of passages of scripture for Giuliano which were concerned with war, and a tract aimed at persuading Giuliano to wage war against pagans.[99] The hermits were also impressed by the king of Portugal's claim to defend the Catholic faith by his victory in Malacca (in southern Malaya). After reading a manuscript copy of the king's letter to Leo X in Rome, on their return to Camaldoli the hermits drafted a letter which exhorted him to exalt the Christian faith.[100]

The threat of the Muslims and the necessity of a crusade had been the familiar ground on which prophecy had thrived in the later medieval and Renaissance period.[101] Professor Minnich has noted that several of the twelve homilists who addressed the Lateran Council 'wrapped themselves in the mantle of the prophet'.[102] They claimed that the Church was in its last age, that moral corruption was widespread, and that God would punish Christendom if the council failed to bring about a reformation. The schism and the Muslim threat were viewed as signs of God's chastisement of the Church. Thus, Egidio of Viterbo famously interpreted Old Testament prophecy and expected a renewal of the Church. Echoes of the prophet Joachim of Fiore may also be found in the sermons of Stefano Taleazzi. The Bosnian Franciscan, Giorgio Benigno Salviati, who was associated with Cardinal Carvajal, consistently defended the legitimacy of prophecy after Christ.

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98 *AC* IX, coll. 577-78.

99 'Le storie de la Sacra Scriptura quanto apartiene al gueregiar'; 'Ad M[agnifi]cum Iulianum ortari eum ut incipiat movere contra infideles tractationem...'; 'Sacre Scripture bella et res geste armis collectio; in animo enim preduxerat omnia sacrarum scripthu[r]arum bella colligere et ad M[agnifi]cum Iulianum trasmittere, ut sine multo labore res memorabilis in bellicis rebus posset ex sacris litteris intelligere'. *TLF* I, 102-03.

100 'Principium epistole ad Christianissimum et vere Catholicum regem portugalie, congratulatoria de felici expugnatione malache et exortatoria ad exaltationem cristianae fidei que...quam scripsit anno domini MDXIII statim post quam roma ad Eremum redierat, ubi epistolam [of 6 June 1513] eiusdem regis ad pont[ificem] Max[imu]m [Leo X] de eiusdem malache felici expugnatione viderat, que postea impressa divulgata est'. *TLF* I, 83. The letter was indeed printed: *Epistola Potentissimi ac Invictissimi Emanuelis Regis Portugallie et Algarbiorum etc. De victoriis nuper in Affrica habitis. Ad. S. in Christo patrem et dominum nostrum dominum Leonem. x. Pont. Max...per Jacobum Mazochium, 9 Augusti* [1513]. This work may be more conveniently found printed in Sanudo XVI, coll. 622-26.

101 On the transmission of prophecies about the threat of an eastern invasion during the middle ages see Robert E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy. The cedar of Lebanon vision from the Mongol onslaught to the dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley and London, 1983).

102 Nelson H. Minnich, 'Concepts of Reform Proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517)', in Marjorie Reeves (ed.) *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period* (Oxford, 1992) ch.4: 66.

Besides Egidio of Viterbo it is possible to identify other homilists at Lateran V who wrapped themselves in a prophetic mantle and who were associated with the hermits. Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola was a well-known follower of Savonarola who had been in correspondence with Giustiniani.[103] After attending the eighth session of the Lateran Council in 1513, he composed a work entitled *Ad Leonem Decimum Pontificem Maximum et Concilium Laterense...de reformandis moribus oratio* and sent it to the pope.[104] In it he denounced clerical moral corruption and called for the enforcement of current legislation. He predicted that God would himself amputate the diseased members and destroy them. Pestilence, famine, and recent battles were signs of God's intentions. Leo should spend his money:

> ...not only clothing and food, but on work to restore the sacred texts of both Testaments, and comparing them with ancient and corrected exemplars of the earliest times, so that they may be entirely cleansed of the mistakes which have crept into them through the low standards of the times and through the carelessness of copyists...[105]

Pico also urged the application of synodal statutes, daily prayers, and true histories distinguished from apocryphal stories. He wanted Leo to bring about peace between the princes.

At the Lateran council and in his private writings Tommaso de Vio (Cajetan), master general of the Dominicans, addressed the question of prophecy at some length. He managed to criticize recent prophets without referring to Savonarola, who was still popular within his order. He defined the way in which God chose to reveal knowledge to the human intellect by prophetic illumination or through angels illumining men by strengthening the intellect or by teaching, distinguishing, and proposing perceptibly the thing revealed. Such revelations were part of the divine plan, and Cajetan provided criteria for determining the truthfulness of these messages. He believed that legitimate prophets should be listened to as their message had been given for the good of the Church, and St Paul had explicitly warned us not to ignore prophecy (I Thess. 5.20). Vio was probably one of the most influential members of the deputation which drafted the bull correcting the abuses of preachers and the practices of divination, recourse to auguries, and the invocation of demons.[106]

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[103] Letter of 14 September 1511 to Pico - 'vir clarissime': *TLF* I, 52.
[104] William Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth.* 4 vols., (Liverpool, 1805) III, appendix no. CXLVI, 40-46.
[105] 'Non in vestibus modo et sumptibus, sed in studiis sacrae literae utriusque instrumenti recognoscendae, et cum antiquis et castigatis primae originis exemplaribus conferendae, ut ab erratis quae vitio temporum et librariorum incuria, in illas irrepserunt, omnino purgentur...' *ibid.* 46.
[106] Minnich (1992b).

The *Libellus* urged the pope to punish those engaged in divination through astrology, marking of days, interpretation of dreams, fortune-telling, palm-reading, prestidigitation, magical arts, and recourse to water and fire or lines and figures. Books on divination were to be destroyed and the practitioners themselves executed if they refused to renounce these devilish arts.[107] The Lateran Council issued a decree prohibiting or limiting the foretelling of future events. The Reform Bull of 1514 severely condemned any attempts to predict the future by using divinations, incantations, or by the invocation of demons. In its decree on preaching, *Supernae majestatis praesidio* (1516) it addressed the question of clerics claiming to have revelations from God. The council forbade them to predict in their sermons any fixed time of future evils, of the coming of the Antichrist, or of the day of the Last Judgement. Clerics in their sermons were not to base their predictions on interpretations of scripture, or claim to have their knowledge of the future from the Holy Spirit or through divine revelation, or seek to prove their statements by foolish divinations. The decree did allow for the possibility of a true revelation from God and set up procedures for testing it before it was announced to the people.

Professor Minnich has pointed to Stefano Taleazzi, Bishop of Torcello (ca.1445-1515) as the likely source for the 1514 Lateran decree. Taleazzi presented his views to the conciliar deputation charged with drawing up the council's reform decrees on 15 January 1514. The bull *Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* (5 May 1514) outlined the duties of both clerics and laymen, and stressed the need for cardinals to lead moral lives. Simony, concubinage, blasphemy, unqualified priests, and witchcraft were all discussed as signs of the degeneration of the Church. The deputation condemned any attempts to predict the future by recourse to superstitious practices, which was very close to the third of Taleazzi's major proposals:

> ...bishops should diligently investigate and act against those who have wrong opinions about the articles of Faith, and against those who follow prestidigitation, incantations, lots, and other things prohibited by law and holy decree; and no less against Judaisers, *marranos*, and prophets...[108]

It is difficult to say how far the *Libellus* directly contributed to these bulls, although it certainly agreed with the bulls' principal concerns. Renaissance prophecy was not

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[107] For official attacks on popular religion and its safety-valve, the carnival: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978) 207-22. See also John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985).

[108] 'Tertio quod episcopi locorum teneantur singulis annis diligenter perquirere et formare processus contra male sentientes in articulis fidei et contra sequentes praestigia, incantationes, sortilegia, et alia prohibita a lege et decretis sanctorum patrum; et non minus contra Judaizantes, marranos et prophetantes de corde suo, ita quod unus quisque purget diocesim suam singulis annis et in necessariis sedem apostolicam consulant'. Quoted in Minnich (1992b) 65, n.7. The text of this bull is printed in Mansi (1758-1962) XXXII, coll. 874-85.

condemned out of hand, and its legitimacy was in fact acknowledged formally. Querini, and indeed Leo X may have been willing to accept the legitimacy of prophecy in 1514. As Cardinal Giovanni in November, 1512, Leo had in fact intervened to protect the friars of S. Marco from prosecution.[109] He also employed *piagnoni* both at Florence and Rome, including Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, later appointed librarian at the Vatican. Fra Santi Pagnini was encouraged and assisted in his new Latin version of the Bible. Girolamo Benivieni, who was later favoured by Giulio de' Medici, celebrated Leo X's election by composing a *Frottola pro Papa Leone in renovatione ecclesiae.*[110] Ugolino Verino, who had written an invective against Savonarola in 1498 but returned to the *piagnone* ranks, dedicated to Leo X all the religious works he had composed in the previous twenty years and expressed the hope that he would finance the publication of his *Vetus et Novum Testamentum.*[111] However, according to Professor Minnich, Leo X and the Medicean supporters should certainly be placed among those at the Lateran Council who wanted Savonarola condemned.[112] One incident, which involved Querini, Pietro Bembo, and Leo X, clearly shows that prophets were regarded both as a serious threat, and as potential instruments of Christian renewal.

On Leo X's election, a self-proclaimed 'prophet' sought favour in Rome. Francesco da Meleto emerged from among a number of prophets active in Florence, particularly during the troubled period 1512-17. Querini, and then Giustiniani, and Contarini became involved with these prophets in one way or another.[113] Of a middle-class Florentine family, and moderate education, Meleto was in Constantinople in 1473 when he met learned Jews who no doubt stimulated his concern with the second coming of the Messiah and the probable date for the conversion of the Jews.[114] His *Convivio de secreti della scriptura sancta, compilato per modo di dialogo* (n.p. n.d.) seems to have been composed shortly before 1513.[115] In it he used a Joachimite timetable to establish the date of the coming of the apocalyptic age. He interpreted the Old Testament prophets, particularly Isaiah, and the Book of Revelation by means of

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109 Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: the Savonarolan movement in Florence, 1494-1545* (Oxford, 1994) 246-51.

110 Girolamo Benivieni, *Opere* (Heredi Philippo di Giunta: Florence, March 1519) ff. 196v-98v. See also Zanobi Acciauoli's 'Leonis X Laudes Carmina', *loc. cit.* Polizzotto (1994) 248, n.46.

111 Polizzotto (1994) 249.

112 Minnich (1992a) 87. Note also the preacher in Florence in July, 1514 authorized by Leo and identifying him with the Angelic Pope: Weinstein (1970) 353. How far Leo identified himself with the Angelic Pope remains unclear. See Reeves (1992b), and my review of this book in *History* 80 (1995) 479-80.

113 On the rise of prophecy in this period, Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy.* Trans. L. G. Cochrane. (Princeton, N.J., 1990).

114 S. Bongi, 'Francesco da Meleto, un profeta fiorentina a' tempi del Machiavelli', *ASI* V (1889) 62-70; Weinstein (1970) 353-57.

115 Weinstein (1970) 354, n.116.

number and word symbolism. The world was to be reduced into a single sheepfold beginning with the persecution of the Jews in Spain and Portugal in 1484, before their conversion in 1517. He expected one man of little learning to unfold the mysteries of scripture and of every event among the Christians, Jews, Muslims, and other non-Christians.

Considering the dominance of the theme of conversion in his work and his interest in scriptural study, it is no surprise that Meleto came to the attention of Querini. According to a letter of Giustiniani to Paolo Orlandini of 1513 Querini read the *Convivio* while at Florence late in 1512 and, seeing in it many 'perverse teachings' he asked Meleto to come to see him in Rome.[116] In this interview, Meleto defended himself and even claimed that his doctrine was proved by miracles - he had seen a flame shoot out of the side of Christ on a crucifix. He also claimed that Christ often spoke to him. According to Giustiniani's letter, Querini tried to persuade Meleto that these were diabolical deceptions, as was his new book entitled *Quadrivium temporum prophetarum* (n.p. n.d.). Through Zanobi Acciaiuoli, now papal librarian, Querini tried to obtain a papal injunction against the printing of the book. It was at this point that Giustiniani urged Orlandini to publish his own book against the 'madness' and 'detestable dogma' of Meleto, which Orlandini had just sent to him. For his part, Meleto described his invitation to Rome by Querini in more flattering terms. Praising Querini's learning and Bembo's prudence, he described how they had called him to Rome and how he had lodged for three months in the house of Bembo before being introduced to the pope.[117]

It was possibly from this source that the Florentine diarist Bartolomeo Cerretani obtained the information on Querini and Meleto to put into the mouths of the interlocutors of his *Dialogo della mutatione di Firenze* (ca. 1520-21). Discussing a papal brief to his vicar condemning the superstitions arising from Savonarola, as well as Bernardo degli Unti, the Angelic Pope prophecy, the prophet Amadeus, and

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[116] This letter is cited by Professor Weinstein as being in private hands in 1955; *ibid.* 356-7,& n.124.

[117] 'Nonne mihi anxio dubioque quomodo cum pauperculus et senex essem domini voluntatem perficere possem (ut videlicet ad sacros Beatissimi Pontificis Leonis pedes me conferrem opusculumque illud sibi traderem)...omnia et miro quodam modo subministravit dominus? Ex improviso namque et mihi nil tale opinanti, Reverend. Pater Frater Petrus Quirinus me Romam vocavit, Reveren. D. tua ut me illuc deferre possem nummos equumque sponte praeparavit. Et ille etiam me per menses fere tres Romae in domo Rev. D. Petri Bembi sanctissimi papae secretarii suscipi educarique procuravit et ad pedes etiam Beatissimi Pontificis me introduxit. Quis ergo mihi pauperculo senique tam magnum amplumque curriculum ut domini opus perficerem paeparavit, nisi dominus ipse ? Quis enim (si rem hanc inspiciat) id negare poterit? Nullus equidem vestrum me prius noverat, neque ulla prius amicitia, affinitas aut parentela mihi vobiscum erat...Frater Petrus latinis, graecis et hebraicis litteris imbutus, philosophus theologusque excellentissimus est. Petrum etiam Bembum prudentia et litteris plurimum pollentem eius officium quam pluraque opuscula ab eo latino maternoque sermone edita aperte declarant...' Quoted by Garin (1961) 219-20.

Francesco da Meleto, the speaker Giovanni who had read the *Convivio* and *Quadrivium* explained that Meleto, called to Rome by Querini, had impressed the pope and other learned men there. However, while Meleto's writings were modestly praised, after Querini's death he was brought before several prelates and an Inquisitor.[118] In his *Ricordi*, Cerretani has Querini condemn Meleto's writings saying, on his death-bed, that they were 'full of Jewish thinking, and against the Faith'.[119]

Cerretani was concerned with spirituality in a wide sense in his dialogue. He seems to have been interested in expressing his spirituality in a syncretist way which encompassed the works of Savonarola, Luther, the first Christians, Franciscans and Dominicans, modern hermits and prophets, Florentine neo-Platonic humanism, Erasmus, the cabbala, Pico, and Reuchlin, as well as by the interpretation of natural signs and astrology. His interlocutors, concerned to establish the soundness of Savonarola's prophecies, may be identified with Girolamo Benivieni and Giovanni di Bernardo Rucellai. It is therefore interesting to note that soon after their departure from Florence in 1512 the two men went to the 'hermitage in Casentino', i.e. Camaldoli, for a couple of days. There they did not achieve the peace of mind which they had sought. While they were at Camaldoli they chose to extol the political virtues of Venice: the magnificence of its buildings, and the 'almost divine' nature of its gravity, order, and unity. This, together with the nature of its site, were the causes of its government lasting for so long, particularly during the previous twenty-five years.[120] In this way Florentine debates on republican government may be seen to coincide neatly with religious concerns, even in the period after Savonarola's death.

It is therefore clear that Querini found the mystical aspects of Jewish learning inimical to the original message of scripture which he wished to uncover. Nevertheless, it is possible that he shared in the belief in prophetic signs which were said to accompany imminent Christian renewal. Savonarola famously cited these, as did Egidio of Viterbo in his address at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council:

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118 '...il perché fu chiamato a Roma, per mezzo di frate Piero Quirino, dove stette assai, e fu più volte co'l Papa et altri huomini dotti. Et ultimamente sendo huomini dotti e di gravità, et visto l'huomo d'ottimi costumi et vita, e d'una sincera bontà, lo rimandorno, non approvando né dannando questi sua sensi, ma modestamente lodandoli; il quale tornato, per instigatione di certi frati, sendo morto il Quirino a Roma, fu richiesto in vescovado, presente lo Inquisitore e molti altri prelati, et interrogatolo e sgridatolo lo sbigottirno; et ultimamente gli commessono scrivessi ridicendosi e che mai più interpretassi Scrittura sacra, il che non so come sia seguita'. Cerretani (1990) 102-03.

119 '...che le si levassi via, che l'era piena d'intellecti ebraici et contro la fede'. *Ibid.* 103, n.

120 '...la magnificentia e meraviglio dello edifitio, ma la quasi divina complessione di quella Republica coruna civilità gravissima, ordinatissima et unitissima al farla magnifica e grande. E giudichamo che questa era la causa del durare quel governo, e di essere surti et usciti di tanti e sì orrendi pericoli che hanno recato questi 25 anni passati, ne' quali l'Italia è suta preda di tante passate di barbari e dove sono affogate e conquassate tutte le città italiche'. *Ibid.* 15.

> When have there ever appeared so frequently and with such horrible aspect monsters, portents, [and] prodigies, signs of celestial threats and of terror on the earth ? When will there ever be a bloodier disaster or battle than that of Brescia or that of Ravenna ?...This year the earth has been drenched with more blood than rain.[121]

The possibility that Querini shared Egidio's views has recently been raised and dismissed.[122] In a letter from Rome of January, 1514 which was sent to Pietro Dovizi da Bibbiena, the papal nuncio in Venice, and copied by Marino Sanudo into his diary, a deformed infant born in Bologna was described and interpreted allegorically as representing the divisions and suffering in Italy.[123] The anonymous correspondent wrote:

> I saw that Italy has become this monster with closed eyes and two faces looking in two different directions because of its divisions; one part looking west to follow its affections and its own convenience; the other [looking] north according to its passions...The open vulva on its head is that land and province that has so long conserved and defended the beauty, the virginity, and the modesty of calamity-stricken Italy; now, so prostrated and lying with open vulva that many outsiders, whom we have seen before us, have come to luxuriate and run wild.[124]

The authorship of this letter may be more convincingly ascribed to Pietro Bembo than to Querini. Bembo was papal secretary, and therefore he would have been privy to the divisions in papal policy which are compared to the two faces of the deformed infant in the letter. He was also a good friend of Dovizi's brother Bernardo whom he knew at least from 1505 and whom he met at Urbino, at least by 1509.[125] Bembo also expressed in other letters similar sentiments about the progress of the war in Italy in the mixture of Latin and Italian, and with the use of obscure analogy, which are characteristic of this letter.[126] Moreover, in his history of Venice, Bembo later wrote of a similar deformed birth. In 1510 a baby (clearly Siamese twins) was born in Venice which was baptized and lived for an hour and a half. It had two heads, four arms, four hands, four feet, and was compared by Bembo to two babies joined together at the back.[127]

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121 Quoted in Niccoli (1990) 46-7.
122 *Ibid.* 58 n.75.
123 Sanudo XVII, coll. 515-16 (letter dated 25 January 1514)
124 Quoted in Niccoli (1990) 55.
125 *Lettere* I (29 August 1505) no.210. Dovizi wrote: 'P. Bembo che è presente mentre scrivo' in a letter from Urbino on 26 December 1509: Bernardo Dovizi, *Epistolario di Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena*, 2 vols., (ed.) G. L. Moncallero (Florence, 1953-65) I, 242.
126 Bembo wrote to Giustiniani: 'Nelle nostre bande *bellorum plena omnia*. Todeschi e Francesi sono in Vicenza e pensano di campeggiar Triviso. Aspettasi la persona de l'imperatore a ciò. I nostri s'adordinano a diffenderlo, e Padoa insieme, e in questo *omnis cogitatio. Reliqua oppida* sono lasciate a benefizio di fortuna: *Rapinarum, caedium, incendiorum plena omnia. Itaque, o te foelicem, qui quidem optimam partem elegisti*'. *Lettere* II (30 August 1511) no.311, 54.
127 *Petri Bembi Cardinalis viri clariss. rerum Venetarum historiae* (Paris, 1551) f.267r.

The interpretation of signs and prophecies seems to have had an irresistible fascination for many Italians during the first two decades of the sixteenth century.[128] It was accepted by the Fifth Lateran Council that prophecy had a role to play in the Church, although many people like Leo X and Querini were wary of the more fantastic of the prophets' claims. Nevertheless, the eschatological framework of periodic renewal seems to have appealed in both its optimistic and cataclysmic sides to a wide variety of men and women and overlapped with humanist and scriptural studies in a way which is striking.[129] The Camaldolese and the *piagnoni* of Florence undeniably had a common interest in applying these studies to reform as the content and imagery of their proposals at the Fifth Lateran Council or in the churches of Florence indicate.

These concerns were eloquently expressed by the Venetian publisher Aldus Manutius in a piece of writing full of echoes and resonances of the concerns of Querini. Manutius' 1513 preface to the works of Plato (prepared by Querini's teacher and friend, Marcus Musurus) noted the importance of Leo as the head of Christendom to care for Christian religion and morals. He praised King Emmanuel of Portugal for uncovering new lands all over the world, and for converting the inhabitants of those lands, as well as for bringing the preaching of the Gospel and the institutions of the Roman Church to them. He therefore urged the pope to encourage the study of 'bonis literis' for the good of this expanding world.[130] Marcus Musurus prefaced this work with a poem addressed to Plato. He urged Plato to descend from the heavens and to go to Rome. There he should meet Platonists like Pietro Bembo and Janus Lascaris, and he should persuade Leo X to recall the Christian world to peace and unity in order to wage war against the Turks for the recovery of Constantinople and Greece. A better age would thus return, peace and justice would be restored to the entire world by Leo who should favour the now declining liberal arts, poetry, and the Greek language.[131]

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[128] This fascination was evidently prolonged into the 1540's. In 1540 the Venetian engraver Giulio Sanuto produced a print which depicted a child born in Venice that year of a German mother. The child is shown with a single eye in the place of the nose, and a penis in the centre of the forehead. However, the engraved verses and the image are devoid of overt political or religious prophetic content. See Michael Bury, *Giulio Sanuto: a Venetian engraver of the sixteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1990) 26, plate 1: 'The Monstrous Child'.

[129] For example, Domenico Benivieni and Giovanni Nesi combined Ficinian or other ideas predating Savonarola in their defence of *piagnone* beliefs: see Polizzotto (1994) ch. III.

[130] *Omnia Platonis Opera* (Venice, September, 1513) 'Aldi pii Manutii ad Leonem X pontificem maximum pro republica Christiana proquere literaria supplicatio'. Sigs. I1-I2.

[131] The Greek text prefaces *ibid.* It can be more conveniently found in Roscoe (1805) II, appendix no. XCI, and in English in *ibid.*, 241-47.

Humanist rhetoric of this most high-flown kind should not obscure the sincere belief in the importance of literary studies and the revival of classical values. Manutius and Musurus thought that these values would provide the necessary tools with which to impose a new *pax Romana* upon the new and old worlds. Classical values were compatible with the aims of the Roman Church, and they were certainly not condemned by the hermits for their 'paganism'. For both the hermits, the study of Greek literature, particularly poetry, had enhanced their knowledge of scripture and philosophy.[132] As Professor Massa has commented, the hermits: 'Son[o] riformatori perché umanisti e umanisti perché riformatori'.[133] Their programme of reform included both the study of classical authors and the vernacular translation of scripture so that morals could be reformed and 'pagans' converted. Like Musurus and Manutius, they believed that this programme would succeed under papal guidance. This illusion of a propitious conjunction of religion and politics in Europe which had arrived or was imminent was only partially dispelled by the events of the last year of Querini's life.

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[132] Gilbert (1967a) argues that Giustiniani was a fairly rigid opponent of pagan philosophical studies, and that both he and Querini were behind the bull 'Apostolici Regiminis' (1513) which condemned Lucretius' denial of the immortality of the soul and other doctrinal errors. However, I would agree with Professor John Monfasani who refutes Gilbert's suggestion that the Aldine edition of Lucretius which was printed in 1500 and a concern for the bad influence of other literary texts provoked the bull. The bull says nothing about literature, and rather describes with precision the philosophical doctrines associated with Averroism and Alexandrianism. The hermits' *Libellus* does not raise the question of heterodox teaching at the universities on the immortality of the soul. More generally, Professor Monfasani argues that there was a large degree of liberty in philosophical speculation in Italy during the 1520's. *Idem*, 'Aristotelians, Platonists, and the Missing Ockhamists: Philosophical Liberty in Pre-Reformation Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly* XLVI (1993) 247-76: 266 n.105.

[133] Massa (1992) 35.

Chapter 5

From the *Libellus ad Leonem X* to the *De officio episcopi* (1513-17)

i. 'There is a strong wind against me, I begin to submerge completely...' Querini and the cardinalate.

Viewed with historical hindsight, Martin Luther's declaration at Wittenberg and the subsequent Protestant movements have given the Roman Church in the period 1513-17 an air of 'crisis'.[1] Moreover, the Fifth Lateran Council encouraged the expression of fears about the future of the Church, particularly with regard to the Turkish threat and the challenges of the expanding boundaries of the Christianized world. Querini was placed for a moment in the eye of this storm in a way which reveals the difficulties faced by pre-Reformation Christian humanists who sought to find some *modus operandi* through personal and institutional means. Querini and Contarini were once again forced by circumstances to address the question of the conflict between the active and contemplative lives. Querini found himself in a dilemma when he was faced with the possibility of being created a cardinal. He experienced some anxiety (and perhaps employed a little deceit) as he sought to obtain the red hat in 1514, and to reconcile his life at Camadoli with a life in Rome.

Contarini urged Querini to accept the cardinalate in terms similar to those he later employed in his *De officio episcopi* (1516-17). This work is an early example of Contarini's attempt to find a means of achieving piety and personal reform within the framework of Christian life outside the monastery. While the thrust of the work has usually been thought to lie with personal reform, its affinities with the *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513) also reveal its underlying aim of a general reform of Christendom. By 1535, when Contarini was made a cardinal by Paul III, papal weakness and the widening European schism prevented him from acting effectively.[2] Therefore, it is useful to consider these works together and to note the ways in which they point towards Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (composed 1523-32; published 1543) in which he described the Christian basis for political life.

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[1] The idea of a crisis in the Church and Christendom can be taken to extreme lengths. Witness the title of Pierre Chaunu's study: *Le Temps des Reformes. La crise de la Chrétienté 1250-1550* [!] (Paris, 1984).

[2] On reform theory and action during this period, see the penetrating comments of John W. O' Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden, 1968), especially the introduction and conclusion.

By 1513 Contarini seemed resigned to a humble but active life in the world. That April, after a silence of nine months, Contarini resumed his correspondence with the hermits in a letter addressed to Giustiniani. In it, he apologized for not having written for many months as a result of an unidentified illness during the past summer and winter. After such a long silence it is a curiously brief and formal letter which must be ascribed to Contarini's continuing illness. In it he described how he had come to a new awareness that, according to St Paul's words (2 Corinthians 3.5): 'Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency *is* of God'. Contarini stated that he was a man 'not only separate from the mass of men' but 'the lowest of the mass of men' so that he lived in a 'humble and lowly life' not to be compared with Giustiniani's, but 'to that of the majority of the people in the world'. He described how 'I devote myself to the humanities, taking some amusement knowing and seeing that my weak stomach is insufficient to digest the solid food of Holy Scripture...', and hoping for divine illumination to reveal the sweetness in them, rather than the bitterness which appeared to him.[3]

In the second half of this letter, Contarini discussed the fortunes of Giuliano and Giovanni de' Medici. Giuliano's return to Florence and his brother's elevation (as Leo X) have pleased him, and he noted that 'everyone is very pleased with his election'. He added that this election:

> ...has seemed to me to be an excellent basis for the restoration of poor Christendom to its original health, and to bring to light all kinds of virtue. I never cease to thank God in my heart for this election, every time I remember it, and to pray His Majesty to deign to preserve this great gift for a long time.[4]

Contarini had decided to accompany the ambassadors going to offer obedience to the pope in Rome, travelling *via* Florence and, if the hermits were not there, the hermitage. In the event, the hermits themselves travelled to Rome to obtain their *Privilegium* and to present their *Libellus* to Leo X. The Venetian ambassadors' obedience was delayed for political reasons and they were not elected until June

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[3] '...non solum separato dal vulgo, come io me credeva, immo, il più infimo del vulgo; et vivome in questa sorte di vita humile et bassa nè da esser comparata non dico a la vostra ma a quella dil forzo de' saeculari, dandome a studii humani et di quelli prendendo qualche spasso cognoscendo et vedendo che el stomacho mio debile non è sufficiente di digerir quel solido cibo de le sacre lettere...' *C. und C.* Letter no.12 (20 April 1513) 89.

[4] '...a tuti questa election sua sia stata gratissima. Me ha paruto questo esser grande principio di instaurar la povera christianità a la sua pristina valitudine, et di excitar a luce ogni sorte di virtude. Non resto ne l'animo mio, ogni volta che mi remembra, di ringratiar Dio di questa election et pregar la Maiestà sua se degni confermarne questo tanto dono per longo tempo'. *Ibid.* 90.

1513.[5] After another gap in the correspondence of several months (although he noted that he wrote to the hermits while they were in Rome between May and August 1513) Contarini wrote in November 1513. He seems to have fully recovered his spirits, and he describes how he spent his time in various amusements, music, and games in the company of friends. He was also deriving great pleasure from reading St Augustine's *De Trinitate* and Plato's *Republic*. His letter does not suggest that he was concerned by a further reversal of Venetian political fortune with the defeat of the French troops at Novara in June, and the reduction of Venetian territory to Padua, Treviso, and Crema.[6]

During the first year of his pontificate Leo X pursued an erratic course in foreign policy as he tried to maintain a balance between the competing powers of France, Spain, and the empire in Italy.[7] According to the Treaty of Blois (1513) Venice remained in alliance with France in spite of the French defeat at Novara and the Venetian defeat at Vicenza at the hands of Spanish-imperial troops in October, 1513. At this time Leo X was working to reconcile Venice with the empire, and France with England. He was also seeking to heal the schism which had opened up between the papacy and France under Julius II. During 1514, Leo pursued a policy which was inclined towards France - so much so that proposals for a Franco-Spanish alliance led Leo, fearful of Spanish control of Milan, Naples, and parts of Venetian territory, increasingly to favour Louis XII. In May and June the pope entered into secret negotiations with Venice (which was hostile towards Spain)[8], and he concluded a secret treaty with France. It was thought that France and the pope had come to an understanding that Giuliano de' Medici was to receive the crown of Naples and Louis XII the dukedom of Milan. After this, the Spanish would be driven out of Italy with Venetian help.[9] Leo effected an Anglo-French reconciliation and alliance in August 1514, and rather than a Franco-Spanish marriage taking place (against which he had worked)[10] Louis XII married Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor, in October 1514.

However, Leo began to fear French predominance and he simultaneously concluded a secret alliance with France, and a one-year treaty with Spain and the emperor. Fearing a French conquest of Milan a secret agreement between Leo and Ferdinand

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[5] Sanudo XVI, col. 423.
[6] *C. und C.* Letter no.13 (26 November 1513) 90-93.
[7] For a succinct account of Leo's actions during 1513-15 see Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes* 10 vols., (London, 1891-1910) VII, chs. I-III.
[8] Sanudo XVIII, coll. 175-6, 182, 184, 236, 245, 246, 292.
[9] *Ibid.* coll. 15, 250, 266, 272, 277, 301.
[10] *Ibid.* coll. 210, 236.

of Spain was also signed in September 1514 which guaranteed the security of their Italian possessions during their lifetimes. By this agreement they pledged that they would not make an agreement with any other state, least of all France, with a view to the reconquest of Milan, Genoa, and Asti, without the knowledge of the other. By November 1514 Leo was still set against France, despite its advances, and he urged Venice at once to unite with the papacy and the emperor against France. However, Venice declared to the papal envoy its adhesion to France and had tried to draw Leo into the Franco-Venetian alliance by putting before him a plan for the conquest of Naples and Giuliano's government of that state.[11]

Querini attempted to remain faithful to the Franco-Venetian alliance when he was in Rome between March and September 1514 as a representative of the Venetian government.[12] He must have been considered well-suited for such a role by the Venetian government on account of his friendship with Giuliano de' Medici who inclined towards French interests, and with Pietro Bembo, the papal secretary. Indeed, Querini noted that Giuliano attempted to persuade Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (at this time anti-French) that Leo's best interests lay with the French.[13] In a letter of May 1514 to Lorenzo de' Medici, Baldassare da Pescia (his agent in Rome) wrote: 'Brother Pietro Querini the Camaldolese who negotiates here in Venetian matters and other great things, is of great authority among us [i.e. the Medici family]'.[14] The ambassador of Francesco Gonzaga noted that Querini: 'has high standing with the pope and is lodged in the palace with Pietro Bembo. The Magnificent Lord [Giuliano de' Medici] is very fond of him'.[15]

For his part, Querini may have been tempted to leave the hermitage for Rome for spiritual, as well as secular reasons. His close relationship with the pope may have been established on his visit to Rome in 1513, or when Leo was acting for Julius II

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[11] On Bembo's mission to Venice in November, 1514 see *ibid.* XIX, coll. 306, 308 (Bembo addresses the Collegio on 6 December 1514), 326-27, and 338 (Bembo leaves for Chioggia on 28 December 1514). Presumably, it was on 6 December 1514 that Bembo delivered the 'proposta' to Doge Loredan. In this, Bembo tried to persuade Venice to break with France, to give up Verona to Maximilian, and to conclude a peace treaty with him. This is to be found in Pietro Bembo, *Opere* 12 vols., (Milan, 1808-10) IX, 387-415.

[12] His letters, twenty-eight of which are co-signed by Pietro Bembo (then papal secretary), are found in ASV Capi Consiglio X, dispacci da Roma, busta no.2. The letters of the Ten to the Venetian ambassador in Rome (1514) are in ASV Misti. Consiglio X, reg.37, *loc. cit.*, Vittorio Cian, 'A proposito di un'ambascieria di M. Pietro Bembo (Dicembre 1514)', *Archivio Veneto* XXIX (1885) 355-407. On Leo X's court personnel see Alessandro Ferrajoli, *Il Ruolo della Corte di Leone X (1514-16)*, (ed.) Vincenzo De Caprio, (Rome, 1984).

[13] Dispatch of 18 May 1514 cited by Cian (1885a) 367, n.1.

[14] 'fra Pietro Quirino Camaldulense quale tratta qui, oltre le cose de' Venitiani, cose grande, et est apud hos nostros maximae auctoritatis'. Quoted in *ibid.* 362, n.3 (10 May 1514).

[15] '...Qua e huno heremita camaldulensis nominato fra Pietro Quirino quale per conto de Venetiani multo sta col papa et è alozato in palazo cum m. petro bembo, el S.or M.co lo accareza assai'. Archdeacon Gabloneta quoted *ibid.* 361, n.3 (24 April 1514).

in Camaldolese affairs in 1512. Querini may have viewed this friendship as a means to promote his view that European peace and unity should be established before launching a crusade. He certainly discussed the Turkish threat with Leo, and seems to have favoured the pan-European alliance suggested by the pope. However, the final months of his life were dominated by accusations of personal ambition as he faced the dilemma of reconciling his sense of monastic vocation with the possibility of elevation to the cardinalate. This possibility forced him once more to consider whether he was suited to a new and difficult means of serving God, and whether he had any choice in accepting God's iussive will.[16]

As far as Querini could see, Leo wished either to join with Venice secretly and in alliance with either the English and Swiss, or with the French, in order to expel France or Spain and the emperor from Italy. Pietro Bembo, the apostolic secretary, assured Leo that Venice would unite with the pope, and Querini at first viewed the pope's overall aim to be the expulsion of the 'barbarians' from Italy.[17] In an interview with Querini and Bembo in April 1514 Leo expressed his fear of an alliance between Spain, France, and the Empire and reiterated his amity towards France. He advised Querini to join him in an accord with the Swiss, and then France. He suggested that Milan, Florence, Genoa, and perhaps England would join such an alliance in due course. Querini praised the pope's suspicion of Spain and the Germans who both wished to 'crush the troops of the Roman popes'.[18] He later noted that Leo 'at every moment appears inclined towards the French, and little trusts the Spanish and Germans'. He hoped for an alliance between England, France, and the pope against Venice's enemies.[19] He also observed with satisfaction that Leo had paid 5,500 ducats to Venice by May 1514 and in this way, while he gave 'good words' to Venice's enemies, he offered 'good deeds' to Venice herself.[20] Leo certainly appeared to favour the French, and the Spanish were reported to be hated by everyone at Rome.[21] It was also reported at this time that a league of the pope, France, Venice, Florence, and all of Italy, would be announced.[22]

While Querini was helped by Giuliano in promoting the Franco-Venetian-papal axis, he also had to contend with the machinations of the imperialists and pro-

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16 That is to say, God's command through the pope that Querini be made a cardinal. Querini could not resist such a command. Sr Ninian Eaglesham has been very helpful on this point.
17 'la espulsion de barbari di Italia'. Quoted Cian (1885a) 365.
18 'abassare le forze di Pontifici romani'. Quoted *ibid.* 369 (14 April 1514).
19 Quoted *ibid.* 371 (25 May 1514).
20 'boni fatti', quoted *ibid.* 370 (12 May 1514).
21 Sanudo XVIII, col. 245.
22 Letter of 3 June 1514 from Vettor Lippomano: Sanudo XVIII, col. 250.

imperialists at court. On 23 July 1514 Querini addressed a letter to his brother Zorzi in which he excused Bembo and the Venetian ambassador Pietro Lando of any guilt in this matter, but he noted that they received and read all of his letters. He asked Zorzi to divulge the contents of his letter secretly to the Doge and the Council of Ten. He complained that since the cardinals had returned from Florence things had become more difficult for him at court, particularly as Leo was always mindful of the welfare of Florence. Cardinals Bibbiena, Cibo, Rossi, Cornaro, and Sauli had gone to Florence with Giuliano de' Medici on 16 June 1514 for the feast of S. Giovanni. They were joined there by Cardinals Ferrara, Siena, and Rangone and the feast was celebrated with elaborate displays which celebrated Medicean power in Rome and in Florence.[23] Bibbiena was expected to arrive back in Rome on 8 July 1514.[24]

Querini noted that some people (whom he would not name, but presumably associated with these cardinals, and with Bembo or Lando) were using indirect methods, by means of the papal valets, to change Leo's inclination. They attempted to block Querini's access to the pope, or arranged difficult hours for their interviews. The absence of Giuliano, whom he judged to be very friendly towards Venetian interests, as well as Count Lodovico of S. Bonifacio had hampered him further. Lodovico, a Paduan cleric, was also at Florence for the feast of S. Giovanni and he was described as an 'intimate friend' of Leo.[25] Querini asserted that matters would have been in a worse state if he had not been able to prevail upon another Paduan, Luca Bonfiglio, the pope's valet.[26] Querini exclaimed: 'who would have thought that two Paduan gentlemen would have been so faithful, and good instruments to all your needs, and that our own gentlemen are not ?'[27] In this matter he did not wish to implicate Bembo, who had helped him as much as he could, but only those upon whom Bembo depended - presumably Cardinal Bibbiena. At the beginning of May, Querini had written of how much Bembo had helped him 'perhaps as much as anyone else alive'. Bembo had entreated Querini to

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[23] Sanudo XVIII, coll. 272, 278, 313-16. On this occasion see Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe. La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale* (Venice, 1996) 128-37.
[24] Sanudo XVIII, col. 342.
[25] On 7 July 1514 Sanudo reported that Lodovico 'familiar intimo dil Papa', had travelled from Florence to Padua *via* Venice on account of his mother's illness. *Ibid.* col. 336.
[26] Luca Bonfiglio (ca. 1470-1540) was a Paduan with humanist interests who undertook ecclesiastical service. This letter shows that he was appointed 'cubicularius' at Leo's court by 1514 (and not in 1515 as *DBI*: 12: 25-6 asserts). Contarini mentioned 'Messer Luca Bonfio' in a letter of 9 July 1515. Contarini, in this instance, asked Giustiniani to send to Bonfiglio and 'Conte Lodovico di S. Bonifacio' a copy of Querini's 'grammatica hebrea' as they were nearby in Padua or the *terraferma*. *C. und C.* Letter no. 21 (9 July 1515) 104. See below, p. 131.
[27] 'et chi l'haria pensato? che do gentilhomeni padoani fussero così fideli, et boni instrumenti a tuti i commodi vostri et migliori, che *li gentilhomeni propij nostri* non sono...' Quoted in Cian (1885a) 397 (Querini's emphasis).

remain in Rome while he accompanied Bibbiena to Loretto.[28] However, relations with Bembo were to be considerably soured by the end of July 1514 as the papal secretary began to incline towards the imperialists and the possibility of Querini being made a cardinal became a factor in the intrigues at the Roman court.

While the initiative for Querini's elevation may have come from Doge Leonardo Loredan himself[29], nevertheless it would have equally suited Leo's wooing of the French and Venetians in the summer of 1514 to have hinted at Querini's promotion. In June, Contarini wrote to Querini at the papal palace to say that he had visited Giovanni Battista Egnazio and found him in the middle of writing to Querini exhorting him to accept 'this dignity, or rather, burden, which your mind had promptly refused'[30], and Contarini had added a postscript to this letter which supported this view.[31] Contarini, knowing Querini's mind well and knowing 'how much the opinion of the mass of people is far from the truth'[32], therefore knew that Querini would understand that earthly honours were much wormwood mixed with a little honey[33], and that Querini would not exchange the half hour's happiness he could experience in his closed cell, with all the honours and happiness of the world. He contrasted his own state in which the weakness ('debellezza') of his mind ('animo') did not allow him into divine contemplation and praise but forced him to '...make my mind rest content with this lowliness of civil life, longing, every time I recall it, for that happiness which I know arises in your mind and that of your brother Paul at every moment...' He therefore passed his time in 'diverse occupations, all of them lowly'.[34]

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[28] 'quanto forse alcun altro che vivi in terra...' Quoted *ibid.* 370, n.2. Vettor Lippomano's letter from Rome of 9 May 1514 concludes from Bibbiena and Bembo's departure from Rome that 'è cativo signal che habino acordato tra loro il tutto'. i.e. between the pope, the Empire, Spain, or Venice: Sanudo XVIII, col. 187. There is no reason to conclude, as Cian does, that the cardinal's journey was completely devoid of religious purpose as Bibbiena was concerned with the restoration of the church there. See G. L. Moncallero, *Il Cardinale Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, umanista e diplomatico (1470-1520)* (Florence, 1953) 383-85.

[29] On 7 July 1514 Querini wrote to the Doge to thank him for his recommendation to Grimani (presumably for the cardinalate) Cian (1885a) 378, n.1.

[30] '...questa dignitade over, più presto, cargo, el qual da lei con cusì promto animo era refutado'. *C. und C.* Letter no.14 (13 June 1514) 93. Egnazio's letter of 6 June 1514 is to be found at Frascati, Cod. F 2 A. f. 203. *Loc. cit. ibid.*

[31] '...per non lassar vui et el nostro Egnatio in tal travaglio di questa deliberation, me ho lassato consigliare a tuor tal cargo, benché io li sia molto alieno per assai rispecto. Rideti adunque, quanto voleti. Nec alia. Gaspar tuus scripsit'. Quoted *ibid.* 93 n.33.

[32] 'quanto la opinion del vulgo era luntana dal vero...' *ibid.*

[33] 'molto assentio temperato con poccho melle...' *ibid.*

[34] 'quetar la mente mia in questa bassezza de la vita civile, sospirando, ogni volta che me ne ricordo, a quella iucundità la qual so che ne la mente vostra et di Frate Paulo vostro ad ogni hora scaturisse'; 'diverse occupatione, tute però basse...' *Ibid.* 94. Contarini here seems to distinguish between 'animo' as 'mind' in the sense of intent and 'mente' as mind in the sense of intellectual pursuit. He clearly distinguishes both from the idea of 'spirito' or the idea of a higher and greater spirit to which a man may rise. See O' Malley (1968) 100-04.

However, Contarini began to change his mind almost immediately after leaving Egnazio. He weighed in the balance Querini's happy state on the one hand with the poor state of the Christian Church on the other. The Church had been:

> ...redeemed from eternal damnation with the most precious blood of Jesus Christ, [but] now the spiritual and temporal pains which have come have removed it from that love towards God and neighbour on which it was founded by that true light of both human and angelic mind... [35]

He cited Jesus' words (John 15.12): 'This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you', and pointed to failures of religious affection and example among 'those who have in past years governed the Church of God...' He noted that a Godless man could become king only over a Godless people (Job 34.30). He added that his long-held desire had arisen again:

> ...to see divine clemency once direct His eyes on this His poor little ship which is tossed in such storms and which has had need of some good man who, disregarding his own interests, would wish and be able to assume the burden of this Christian family, which is being torn to pieces by its enemies, bad angels and men, by different means.[36]

Like the hermits, Contarini looked to Leo X as the Medici or 'optimo medico', and as one who would need 'instrumenti' or good men who had proved themselves in active life and who would work for the good of the Church, and not for the sake of personal rewards. Contarini apologized for moving from his first argument to the extreme position that Querini could not '...refuse this burden without offence and denigration of the love which you have for God and your neighbour...'[37]

Furthermore, Contarini argued that too much love of oneself was a perverse love: 'Not to delay one's own interests for the interests of one's neighbour is not a Christian act'. The love of oneself was the root of all sins and he should rather consider St Paul's declaration (Romans 9.3): 'For I could wish that myself were

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[35] '...ricuperata da la eterna dannatione con el preciosissimo sangue di Iesu Christo, et in quanti travalgi et spirituali et temporali è venuta, essendo dilungata da quella charità verso Dio et verso el proximo, sopra la qual la ha fondata quel vero lume de le humane et angelice mente...' *C. und C.* Letter no.14 (13 June 1514) 94.

[36] 'quelli che ne li passati anni hanno governato la Chiesia de Dio...'; '...vedere che una volta la clementia divina drizassi li occhi sui a questa povera sua navicella la qual fluctua in tanta tempesta et che suscitasse qualche homo dabene el quale, postposta la sua commodità propria, volesse et potesse torre qualche carigo di questa famiglia christiana, la qual da li inimici sui, mali angeli, è in diverse maniere per instrumento di mali homeni dilaniata'. *Ibid.*

[37] '...senza offension et denigration de la charitade che portate a Dio et al proximo, refutare questo cargo...' *Ibid.*

accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh'. He returned to '...the wretched Christian people divided into thousands of parts, all rent and bloody with discords...' Contarini may have had the schismatic cardinals in mind when he wondered that prelates had behaved worse than anyone else. He insisted that the pope was the best shepherd provided by divine clemency, and that he ruled in Christ's place. Therefore, Querini should not object that he had not been called by God like Moses, Peter, or Paul. He considered whether Querini would insist '...on having some vision by which he is given this task? Certainly not, I believe'.[38] Querini might consider living as a cardinal partly in the hermitage and partly at the Roman court, thus setting a good example to the world and altering the behaviour of other prelates. He might also help his homeland and his friends spiritually and temporally. Contarini himself could then fulfil his one wish to live with Querini in the secular habit for the rest of his life.[39]

A month later Contarini wrote to Querini to say that he had not expected any other answer than that which he and his friends had all received because he knew well that 'dedicated as you have been to the service, honour, praise, and exaltation of Jesus Christ, you would not be so concerned with your own convenience and peace as to wish to refuse that office which His Vicar had imposed upon you'.[40] In the face of Giustiniani's last letter to Contarini, which argued that the life of contemplation was superior to that of action, Contarini argued that different men were suited to different grades of life. In his letter to Querini, he looked forward to seeing him in a few months:

> I have had a great need to converse with somebody, who would counsel me and give me aid and, in short, perform that office as you would when we lived together. But who knows, I still may not be denied [the opportunity of] living with you. Meanwhile I will thank God for my humility and lowliness; as for you, praise Him for your exaltation.

He apologized for writing so spontaneously and asked Querini to write a few lines of reply.[41]

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[38] 'gerit vices Christi'; 'Non postponer le sue commodità a le commodità del proximo suo non è acto nè operation christiana.' ; 'el misero populo christiano in mille parte scisso, tuto squarciato et sanguinoso per le discordie...' ; '...havere qualche visione per la qual questo cargo ve sia commesso? Certo non, che creda io'. *Ibid.* 94-95.

[39] *Ibid.* 96

[40] '...già dedicato al servitio et a l'honore, laude et exaltation dil nome di Iesu Christo, non esser tanto del commodo vostro et di vostra quiete invagito, che volesti refutar quel cargo che per el suo Vicario vi fosse imposto'. *Ibid.* Letter no. 15 (11 July 1514) 96-7.

[41] 'Haveria molto besogno de la conversation di qualche persona, la quale mi consilgiasse et porgesse adiuto, et breviter facesse quel officio che facevati vui quando vivevamo insieme. Ma chi sa, forse anchora non mi serà negato el viver con vui. Interim ringratierò Dio de la mia humiltà et bassezza, et vui el lodarete di la vostra altezza'. *Ibid.* 97.

During June and July 1514 Querini received a number of letters concerning his anticipated promotion to the cardinalate. These came from Marino Zorzi; another letter from Egnazio (12 June); Niccolò Tiepolo (13 June); Valerio Superchio (13 June); Marcantonio Morosini (14 June); and Francesco Cattaneo Diacceto (7 July).[42] Giustiniani himself wrote to Querini noting that Querini's last letters had described how he might be made a cardinal as a result of the favours of his homeland, and with the help of the pope and other friends.[43] However, Querini's letters also demonstrated his desire to continue to follow the eremitical life in the seclusion of the cell. Querini had sought Giustiniani's help for his soul ('animo') as a faithful friend rather than as a wise counsellor ('prudente'). In the exchange of letters which took place during the summer Giustiniani acted as both a wise counsellor and faithful friend, and seems to have experienced as much self-doubt as Querini in relation to his possible promotion. Giustiniani was torn between those, such as the Camaldolese monks, who thought that the promotion would bring glory to the Order, and his own awareness of Querini's frailty and spiritual inclination. At the last, he seems to have been prepared to moderate the position he spelt out to Contarini, and to accept that God had called Querini to a more active life.

Querini himself did not overestimate his chances of promotion on account of the nature of the pope and of the Venetians. He noted that it was not the custom of Rome to make hermits cardinals (although he and Giustiniani might have recalled that the hermit Peter Damian had been made a cardinal in the eleventh century). The pontiff, in addition, did not appear to Giustiniani to be the sort who would start such a custom. Leo's promotions indicated '...that the cardinals whom he creates, have been his relations, great men in secular matters and not of the [spiritual] quality which you are'.[44] If the Venetians did not attempt to 'fa[r] broggi', then no-one would be proposed. And even if one, two, or even ten proposed him, one hundred would make a counter-proposal by reason of rivalry and jealousy.

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[42] Hubert Jedin has discussed these in 'Vincenzo Querini und Pietro Bembo', *Kirche des Glaubens-Kirche der Geschichte: ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge* 2 vols., (Freiburg, 1966) I, 153-66: 159. The original copies are listed in *TLF* I, 514-5. Diacceto's letter is printed in *Opera Omnia Francisci Catanei Diacetii* (Basel, 1563) 359.

[43] 'disposizione e volontà del pontefice...le persuasioni de' grandissimi ed amicissimi uomini...' *AC* IX coll. 580-81 (15 June 1514). Giustiniani must be referring to letters which are not recorded in *TLF* I. He cannot of course be referring to Querini's letter of 14 June 1514 printed at *AC* IX, col. 579. Jean Leclerq, *Un humaniste ermite: le bienheureux Paul Giustiniani (1476-1528)* (Rome, 1951) 79, n.29 notes that this letter is only partially printed.

[44] 'istimar così vicina e così viva questa occasione'; '...che i Cardinali che farà, abbino ad essere suoi parenti, uomini grandi secondo il secolo, e non delle qualità, che siete voi'. *AC* IX coll. 581. In September, 1513 Leo elevated Giulio de' Medici (his cousin), Innocenzo Cibo (his nephew), Lorenzo Pucci (another relation), and Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (a close family associate) to the purple.

There was also the problem that until peace was restored between the pope and Venice no Venetian cardinal would be appointed. Even if all of these conditions were met, if the Venetians did not make a counter-proposal, if Giuliano de' Medici and others supported it, Giustiniani advised Querini that he must not seek the appointment, he must decline it and flee, that if elected he must refuse it, and that he must continue to refuse it until his obedience to the pope and the threat of excommunication meant that he must not obstinately resist. Giustiniani advised him finally to find better counsel in the first part of St Gregory's *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* which advised that those people who were endowed with great gifts and who sought a contemplative life should not decline to be of service to others by preaching, or by the example of their virtues.[45]

Giustiniani's hesitations about the possibility of elevation aroused the anger of his Camaldolese brethren who no doubt valued the importance of the appointment of a cardinal drawn from their monastery. Giustiniani wrote that everyone at Camaldoli expected Querini to become a cardinal and that some had accused him of telling Querini not to accept the position. Giustiniani said that his conscience tormented him as he realized that he ought to have encouraged Querini to accept the red hat but he feared for Querini's health which the ill use of others might harm. He might accept his friend's promotion more resolutely and happily: '...if you were capable to reform others by your example, and being young, as you are, if you had the capacity to lead the Church of God back to those rules, which we describe in our work...'[46] He resolved that Querini should send him further details about the chances of his candidacy, and news of his refusal if he made it.

Querini's letter of 1 July 1514 must have crossed Giustiniani's. In it, he expressed his pleasure at Giustiniani's letters. He described himself as standing in a sea 'with [my] mind in continual conflict'.[47] The Venetians had decided to support Querini and he awaited the will of God, ready to return to solitude, although the Venetians and Leo had asked him not leave Rome. He therefore asked Giustiniani to go to Florence to intervene with Giuliano de' Medici and to '...speak your whole mind with him about this cardinalate, and this will perhaps allow for matters to be

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[45] St Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care* (trans.) Henry Davis, S. J. (Westminster, Maryland, 1955), part 1, ch.5.

[46] '...se voi foste atto a riformare gli altri col vostro esempio, ed essendo giovine, come siete, se aveste virtù di ridurre la Chiesa di Dio a quelli termini, che nel nostro libretto disegnammo...' *AC* IX, coll. 582-83

[47] 'con l' animo in continuo conflitto'. *Ibid.* coll. 583-84; 583.

calmed, and everything to go according to the will of God...'[48] He was to ask him to allow Querini to return to solitude and if he returned, he said, his thought was to become 'rinchiuso', that is to say to leave those hermits whose lives were quite communal and involved divine office and private prayer in common, and to join the true hermits.[49] One week later Querini, in a letter to Giustiniani, expressed his fear that he would return to the hermitage to find that Giustiniani had gone to India, and he added that he did not wish to be left in charge of the monks.[50]

On 14 July 1514 Querini wrote to Giustiniani to say that he was waiting for the details of his intervention with Giuliano. The pope did not want him to leave as at Venice and Rome his support increased daily. The pope thought now more than ever of a crusade against the pagans and spoke of it to Querini at length which drew the two men closer. Querini declared that his actions depended upon the advice of Giustiniani and Giuliano. He believed that his usefulness to Giuliano would mean that in making his advice the Florentine would consider his own comfort first, particularly as: 'He does not have anyone close to our Lord [the pope], who can work for him and in whom the pope believes, apart from Bibbiena and myself...'[51]

An interesting comment on Giuliano's position and the divisions at court was made by Alfonsina de' Medici in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici of 14 February 1514. Rome, she wrote, was divided between Giuliano, Bibbiena, Luigi de' Rossi, Contessina Ridolfi, and Lucrezia Salviati on the one hand, and herself, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Lorenzo de' Medici, and senior members of the Cibo family on the other.[52] However, Querini noted that Bibbiena '...still goes respectfully, as he is suspected by the pope in this [matter]', and that 'Bembo has become so suspicious of me that I do not know what more to say to him'.[53] However, the Venetian ambassador in Rome wrote in August, 1514 that Bibbiena had accused Querini of maligning his (Bibbiena's) intentions towards Venice and of sending lies

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[48] '...seco favellar tutto l'animo vostro circa questo Cardinalato, e questo sarà forse causa di quietar in modo le cose, che il tutto anderà secondo il volere di Dio...' *Ibid.* col. 583.
[49] *Ibid.* col. 584. I would like to thank Sr Maximilian for elucidating this point.
[50] Le Clerq (1951) 80.
[51] 'Non ha persona presso nostro Signore, che per lui sia per procurare ed a chi il pontefice creda, senon il Bibiena ed io...' *AC* IX, coll.586-7. Note the letter from Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena to the hermits dated 26 September 1513 listed in *TLF* I, 139. Interestingly, this was the day on which Bibbiena was publicly invested as a cardinal by Leo X. The letter is not printed in G. Moncallero (ed.) *Epistolario di Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena.* 2 vols., (Florence, 1953-65).
[52] H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence 1502-1519* (Oxford, 1985) 287.
[53] '...ancora va rispettoso, per essere in questo sospetto al pontefice.' ; 'Il Bembo ha di me preso tanto sospetto, che più non so, che dirmi seco'. *AC* IX col. 587.

to the Venetian government.[54] The divisions at court which Alfonsina de' Medici observed were clearly as unstable as Leo's foreign policy at this time and left Querini in a very uncertain position.

Querini was probably aware of Giuliano's good disposition towards him, and he was actually encouraging his support at this time. He cannot have been surprised that the pope's brother urged Querini's promotion to Giustiniani, and that this judgement would have carried weight with the Venetian. In an undated letter of July 1514 Giustiniani described how Giuliano came to the hermitage the previous Saturday before mass and remained there until Monday morning, attending mass on Sunday morning.[55] Giustiniani accompanied him to the Camaldolese house at Musolea and asked him, among other things, to ask the pope to allow Querini to return to the hermitage. However, Giuliano argued that Querini's works were very pleasing to the pope and the cause of much good. Oddly, Giuliano added that the pope had not granted licence to Querini to leave Rome in order to avoid any great scandals. He must have been referring to the possible difficulties which would have arisen if Querini abandoned Venetian negotiations with Leo while the latter remained poised between opposing Spanish, French, and imperial camps.

At this interview, Giuliano went on to say that nothing would be more pleasing to him than Querini's promotion, and he did not wish to procure anything displeasing to Querini. But, if others moved him to do so, he would request his promotion. Giustiniani commented that he was unhappy that Querini could not return any sooner, and he advised him to take advantage of some 'distrezza' in order to leave. The hermits themselves had written to Leo asking him to grant Querini permission to do so. At the beginning of August Giustiniani reminded Querini of Abraham's separation from Lot, Barnabas' leaving Paul, and the dispersal of the apostles, and he therefore commented (in a way which suggests that Giuliano had swayed his opinion) that even if Querini were to remain in Rome and Giustiniani in the hermitage, he would not cease to love him.[56]

On 23 July 1514 Querini wrote to his brother describing his feelings about the possibility of his election as a cardinal. He was more than ever willing to flee 'ogni

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[54] "Quella Signoria tien io sia spagnol, e son bon suo servitor; so ben li ha scrito el Querini frate che io feva mal oficio; lui era quello che scriveva busie a la Signoria; ch'el parlava al Papa e non li parlava..." Bibbiena quoted in ambassadorial dispatch of 18 August 1514: Sanudo XVIII, col. 456. On Bibbiena's power and influence at the Roman court see von Pastor (1891-1910) VII 84-6, VIII ch. 2; Sanudo XVI, col. 54.

[55] *AC* IX coll.587-88. Hubert Jedin puts Sunday at the 16 or 23 July. Therefore 'sabbato passato'= 15 or 22 or 29 July. So Giustiniani may have been writing on 17 or 24 July.

[56] Leclerq (1951) 81.

grandezza' and the cardinalate 'non mi muove' so that he did not wish his brother to do anything to procure it for him, but leave all to God. He seems to have recognized that his presence in Rome was diplomatically important and he declared that he only wished to work for the good of his compatriots for now, whether his brother believed him or not, and to secure the state of Venice. However, his possible promotion had made some people jealous. There were Spaniards and cardinals who were against him, and:

> of those who think that I have snatched the prey from their hand; I do not think about this, as many people believe; nor should I think of it: I do not desire it and I am not trying to procure it; I shall flee, I shall refuse it - not, however, if I were commanded by the vicar of Christ, who is my Lord on earth, to accept.[57]

This letter reads like an exercise in prospective self-justification in the light of Bembo's letter of 30 July 1514 to the Doge and Ten of Venice in which he made various accusations against Querini's conduct and intentions.

Bembo had written to the Doge and Ten on 23 July 1514 to thank them for having written in mid-July to the Venetian ambassador Lando to enjoin him to recommend Bembo to Leo. He may have referred obliquely to Querini in this letter when he wrote that he would have been happy not to have been recommended to Leo at all, and that the testimony of his own conscience would have been enough to satisfy him. He made a further hint that Querini had been consumed with personal ambition when he wrote of other people who should not seek any other prize from their good works than the contentment of their consciences.[58] In his second letter to Venice, a week later, he described how he had loved Querini more than another brother, and that he had believed that he had given himself to the service of God sincerely. In doing so he had acquired credit and authority with Leo X, Giuliano, and the Cardinals de' Medici and Bibbiena. For two years Bembo had given him every aid in the renewal of his order. However:

> ...because I have comprehended and am certain that he [Querini] has deceived God and Your Serenity: God, by feigning to be His servant in order to avail himself of that title for his own worldly ambitions, and for no other end; Your Serenity, by writing falsely many times, and by conducting

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[57] '...et de nostri quelli che pensano, che li habbia tolta la preda di mano, io non penso, come da molti si crede, a questo: Ne debbo pensarvi: non lo desidero, non lo procuro; fuggiro, rinuntiaro, se viene, non però quando dal vicario di Christo, che è mio S.re in terra mi fusse comandato che lo accettassi'. Quoted in Cian (1885a) 378-79.

[58] '...se altri et della loro sorte, che essi stessi hanno voluta et hannola proposta a tutte le altre, contentati si fossero, et non cercassero altro premio delle loro bone opere, che la conscientia loro'. Quoted *ibid.* 381.

> matters with great vehemence only for his own profit; I have wished to write to Your Serenity these few words.

Contrary to Querini's protestations of not desiring any promotion and acting only by zeal of his country and Jesus Christ, Bembo enclosed a letter from Querini to Innocenzo da Pesaro which, he believed, indicated a more calculated desire for promotion. Innocenzo had once been Querini's own servant but was now in Giuliano's service, and the letter demonstrated Querini's 'desideri' and 'artifici'. Bembo asserted that Querini had already written to Giuliano to ask him to write to Venice in response to the Doge's enquiry to Cardinal Grimani about Querini. Both letters Bembo sent on the condition that they were considered privately by the Ten and then returned.[59]

Querini's letter to Innocenzo does not entirely support Bembo's accusations.[60] In it, Giuliano was enjoined to write to Venice to thank the Republic for having nominated Querini for the cardinalate; and also to write to the Republic asking them to write to Cardinal Grimani and the ambassador to speak to the pope about the cardinalate. It was noted that 'Jnstino' (presumably Giustiniani) had been promised by the pope that Querini would be made a cardinal when another was needed, and the Venetians were urged to persuade Querini to accept this position. This was to be requested:

> ...so that the Signory does not believe that it proceeds from him to ask for such a result...and it will be a good thing, because if that of the Magnifico goes by the hand of Zorzi [Zorzi Querini, or Marino Zorzi] with the copies, the letters from the Signory to the ambassador and Grimani are certain to come...This is the whole, and instructions of how great will be the success of this matter.[61]

That Querini enclosed with this a letter in recommendation of Innocenzo for Giuliano may have encouraged the servant to follow his instructions.

Querini never entirely ruled out the possibility that he would bow to the pope's will and accept the red hat. In addition, Giustiniani himself had written that Giuliano

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[59] 'Ma poiché io ho compreso e sono stato certo esso ad un tempo gabbar Dio e la ser.tà v.: Dio con finger de esserli servo per valersi di questo titolo alle mondane ambizion sue, e non ad altro fine; vostra Ser.tà con scriverli il falso molto spesso, e con tirar tutte le operazion sue callidissimamente a suo solo e unico profitto, ho voluto scrivere a V.Ser.tà queste poche parole'. *Lettere*, II, 82.

[60] It is printed in Vittorio Cian, *Un decennio della vita di Pietro Bembo* (Turin, 1885) 200-1.

[61] '...azo la S.ria non creda che da lui el se mova a sollicitar tal effecto, et non per satisfar etiam el mag.co, et sara bona cosa, perche se questa del Mag.co va in man de Zorzi cun la copia, el fara certo venir la lettera de la Sig.ria al orator et al Gri.no che se fazino far la promessa...Questa è la summa, et advisatione di quanto sara successo et strazate questa'. Quoted *ibid.* 200-1.

would ask Leo for his promotion if others urged him to do so. Clearly, Querini was responding to this hint and besides, Giuliano would have known quite well that Querini was asking him to act through the medium of his servant. Both Giuliano and Querini were also well aware that they had to gain the support of the cardinals and that the Venetians would have to 'fa[r] broggi' to effect the promotion. That Querini did not act through the open channels of the Venetian ambassador or Bembo is explained by Querini himself when he wrote to his brother Zorzi on 23 July 1514. He clearly did not trust them because they were tied to Bibbiena who, as a partisan of the Spanish, would have opposed Querini. At the very least it shows that Querini was eagerly attempting to maximise his own chances for election and, thus, showing some disingenuity in the protestations contained in his correspondence with Giustiniani, Contarini, and his brother.

Querini's final letter from Rome was dated 27 August 1514, nine days after he fell ill, and is considerably more anguished in tone than any of his others had been since he entered the hermitage. In it he constantly referred to himself caught in 'lacci' which recall the 'snares' or 'bird traps' in which St Augustine found himself tangled as a dissolute youth in the *City of God.* Querini's confusion had been increased by the demands of the Venetians who had nominated him; by Grimani, who had told the pontiff everything[62]; and by the French ambassador. Querini had therefore refused many, some of whom believed him, some praised him, others were jealous and some, like Bembo, were cruelly upset: '...How much does Bembo's distress sadden me, and how much I would prefer it if his soul were not so discontent, and he were only upset over me'.[63] He noted that he did not have anyone who gave him direct counsel except Bonfiglio[64] and the Archbishop of Zara.[65] He felt that he could not have recourse to God because the actions and the world had power over him. In addition, he declared that he would try to obtain the

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[62] Presumably Cardinal Domenico Grimani, Patriarch of Aquilea, who was in Rome at the time. Sanudo XVIII, coll. 380. On him see Pio Paschini, *Domenico Grimani cardinale di S. Marco* (Rome, 1943); Oliver Logan, *Studies in the Religious Life of Venice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: the Venetian Clergy and the Religious Orders, 1520-1630* (University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1967). Dr Logan's thesis has been published as: *The Venetian Clergy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Study in Religious Culture* 2 vols., (Salzburg, 1995).

[63] '...quod sibi arripuerim praedam & dolose...' ; 'O quanto mi duole la turbazione del Bembo, e quanto vorrei, che l'animo suo non fosse tanto scontento, e di me solo si lamenta.' *AC* IX coll. 584, 585.

[64] See above, p. 121, n. 26.

[65] Francesco Pisauro, a Venetian nobleman, was Archbishop of Zara from 1505 until 1530 when he became Patriarch of Constantinople. F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra.* 9 vols., (Rome, 1643-62) V, col. 1463. He is listed among the members of the college of papal assistants named by Julius II. These were men appointed largely in recognition of noble birth, or as a favour, with a dignity which ranked between a cardinal and an archbishop. See Nelson H. Minnich, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17)* (Aldershot, 1993) ch.V, 216-17 & n.11. He was also present at sessions one to five, and eight and nine, of the Fifth Lateran Council (i.e. sessions beginning May, 1512 to February, 1513, and December, 1513 to May, 1514). See Minnich (1993) ch.I, 191, no.303.

'Breve della licenza' for Sa Maria degli Angeli, but that: 'Oh what a trial the affairs and government of Brethren is for me and, if I escape these traps, I will become enclosed'.[66]

In his confusion Querini thought that it would be better to be out of this mad, miserable world. He knew that the cardinalate involved infinite anxieties for body and mind; he must care for others more than for himself and:

> ...to keep to a certain norm, and I have little hope of keeping it...But I hold as certain and sure that the Church must suffer; that this pope alive now must be persecuted, because he is good, and late; and still I am distressed at [the prospect of] suffering with him...

In an image which recalls how St Peter sank into the water after walking on it when he realised how strong a wind there was against him (Matt. 14.30), Querini wrote wearily:

> I have been walking on the sea for some time, and now that I see that there is a strong contrary wind against me, I begin to submerge completely.[67]

In the middle of August Querini began coughing blood and seems to have suffered a burst vein in his chest. Marino Sanudo's diaries record the progress of Querini's last illness from 18 August 1514 until his death on 23 September. He remarked that he was:

> ...a most learned man, fine in appearance and eloquent in speech, who went to Rome on the state's business, as he was a friend of the pope and of master Pietro Bembo, secretary to the pope and Lorenzo the Magnificent, and he wrote letters to the Council of Ten; and already the Ten and Zonta had written to ambassador Lando at Rome to speak to the pope in favour of his being made a cardinal; he was ill for several days.[68]

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[66] 'O che tentazioni mi sono le pratiche e li governi de frati, e se scappo da questi lacci, mi rinchiudo.' *AC* IX col 586.

[67] '...servare certa norma, e poco speraria poterla servare.' ; '...tengo certo e fermo, che la chiesa abbia a patire; che questo papa vivendo abbia ad esser perseguitato, perchè buono e tardo, e talor il patir seco mi commuove...' ; 'Ho caminato sopra il mare un tempo, or che vedo il vento valido a contrariarmi, incomincio a sommergermi tutto...' *Ibid.* col. 585.

[68] '...homo doctissimo, bello in presentia et facundo nel parlar, qual a Roma era andato per operarsi in materie dil Stato, per esser amico dil Papa e di domino Petro [sic] Bembo secretario dil Papa et dil magnifico Lorenzo, et scriveva letere al Consejo di X, et zà per il Consejo di X con la zonta fo scrito a l'orator Lando nostro in corte, parli al Papa in sua recomandatione che sia fato cardinal; è stato qualche dì amalato'. Sanudo XIX: col. 97. See also *ibid.* XVIII: coll. 455-6, 468, 471; XIX: coll. 27, 33 [Giustiniani joins Querini in Rome on 7 September 1514], 82. According to Hubert Jedin, Querini died at the Dominican monastery of S. Silvestro, on the Quirinal: *C. und C.*, 58.

The Florentines Francesco da Diacceto and Alessandro Pazzi addressed letters of condolence to Giustiniani on the occasion of Querini's death.[69]

Giustiniani, who rushed to join him in Rome, later wrote of Querini's death:

> And there [at Rome], Pope Leo having had him in such estimation that many cardinals were jealous of him, being on the point of promotion by that pope to the cardinalate, he died aged thirty-five as a result of the austerity with which he led his life, as some believe, or by poison administered by some jealous person, as others judge...[70]

It is interesting to note that the death of Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge in Rome that July was also attributed to poison. An autopsy was performed upon him and a confession was extracted which seemed to point to that cause of death. However, Bainbridge's modern biographer considers it 'improbable' that poison was the immediate cause of death, and he notes that Rome endured a severe heatwave in July 1514.[71] Querini's health was always a cause for concern both for himself and his friends and the heatwave and obvious mental strain he endured may have caused the symptoms described by Sanudo. Indeed, at the same time the Venetian ambassador Lando was reported ill, and Lando's colleague Vettore Lippomano died shortly after Querini.[72] However, it is interesting (although historically inconclusive) that Giustiniani chose to mention the rumour of poison so many years after Querini had died.[73]

Two months after Querini's death Leo urged Venice to make peace with the emperor (and give up Verona in the process) since Louis XII was not going to invade Italy that year. Leo performed one more *volte face* and told the Venetian ambassador Lando that France should not be trusted.[74] Through the following year Leo seemed

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[69] On 3 February 1515, Francesco Diacceto wrote to Giustiniani : 'Io ho tardato fino a ora a dolermi con voi della morte di fra Piero...' *TLF* I, 139. On 16 October 1514, Alessandro Pazzi wrote to Giustiniani of Querini 'cujus memoria tum propter eius innumeras pene & singulares virtutes, tum propter memoriam Cosmae archiepisco i Florentini germani nostri, cui praestitit supremam opem, ex animo meo nunquam deleri poterit...' *AC* IX, col. 589. Giustiniani is supposed to have composed a work *Della divota dormizione di fra Pietro Quirini in Roma*, according to E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols., (Venice, 1824-61) V, 66. This work is now lost.

[70] 'Et ivi essendo egli da pappa Leone habuto in tal existimatione et favore che era a molti cardinali invidiosso, essendo per esser promosso dal predicto pontifice a grado di cardinalato, o per l'austerità de vita che observava, come alcuni credono, o per veneno da alcun invido ministratoli, come altri iudicano, di età di anni cerca XXXV...' Quoted in *TLF* I, 120.

[71] David Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome, 1509-14* (Oxford, 1965) 140, 134 n.3.

[72] Sanudo XVIII, coll. 455, 468; XIX, coll. 33, 82, 97.

[73] Poisoning was common, or at least commonly suspected, in Renaissance Italy. See Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: an essay*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1951) 277.

[74] Cian (1885a) 391. In April, of course, he had been advising Venice not to trust the Empire or Spain.

to accept that war with Francis I was probable, but he tried to come to some agreement with him whilst at the same time paying for Spanish and Swiss troops. Giuliano explained to the Duke of Savoy, as French troops poured into Italy in the summer of 1515, that the price of his joining France would comprise the renunciation of French claims on Parma and Piacenza, and the conclusion of a permanent peace between France and Spain. He wished to form a general Christian League against the Turks. He also sought the renunciation of Naples in favour of the Holy See or of a third party agreeable to the pope and king. The north and south of Italy were not to be governed by one sovereign, even if that were to be Giuliano himself. On 13-14 September, 1515 the Swiss were crushed by the French and a troop of Venetian horse at Marignano, and the following October Francis I made his triumphal entry into Milan.

Querini's hopes for the peaceful settlement of Europe as well as for the reform and renewal of Christendom had proved to be illusory. The schism which arose within the Catholic Church after 1517 has obscured the sincerity and overwhelming sense of urgency for reform felt by Catholics in the first two decades of the century. Querini praised Alexander VI warmly in 1502, and trusted that Leo X would bring about Church reform and even the reform of his own household in due course. His own sense of vocation was established as early as 1500 and was held with tenacity during the most difficult decades of Venetian history. Querini could be kind and unworldly, and given to weeping; but he was also stubborn and ambitious.[75] The Venetian nobleman who had served his state in two important embassies by the age of twenty-seven decided to leave Venice at one of the most critical moments in its history. His sense of vocation clearly did not run counter to his reason or nature, and does not appear to have come to him as a sudden illumination. He accepted God's call and acted in the world and in his contemplative life to develop his intellectual and moral qualities in order to prepare himself for monastic withdrawal. Therefore, his continued involvement in the world after 1500 and during 1514 is less paradoxical than at first it may appear.[76] The weight of historical evidence is in favour of accepting the view that Querini made the decision to become a hermit not out of fear or frustration but out of sincere belief.

His belief that the monastic life was the one best suited to him was gained quite early in his life. He accepted the eremitic life quite readily, although his friends warned him of its dangers. It is possible that he was not fully prepared for that life, although he declared that he fully accepted it. He accepted that other types of life,

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[75] On Querini's weeping see *AC* IX, coll. 457, 498.
[76] I am grateful to Sr Ninian Eaglesham for her help on this point.

including a life in the city, could be good and meritorious, and perhaps he hoped that such a life would allow Contarini to develop his contemplative life and sense of monastic vocation. Moreover, Querini's mission to Rome in 1514 threatened to become permanent, and at the very least he seems to have been ready to accept it. There were many men in Venice, Florence, and Rome who shared Querini's hopes and there were some who shared his sense of vocation. While Giustiniani remained in monastic life until his death, Contarini followed a route out of his inner struggle which was similar to Querini's and passed *via* public service and secular ecclesiastical promotion in order to put into effect Querini's hopes for reform.

ii. Circe's potion: Contarini and Florence

Contarini's reaction to the death of Querini is not recorded. Either the letters have not survived or he was too ill, or too grief-stricken to write to Giustiniani. He finally fulfilled his promise to visit the hermitage in May 1515. He reached Ravenna, where the Camaldolese chapter meeting was taking place at the end of April.[77] He was accompanied by Nicolò Dolfin and Alvise Calin of Brescia. In November 1513 Calin had sought permission through Contarini to stay at Camaldoli for some time in order to recover from his anxiety following his brother's death and the continuation of the wars.[78] An undated letter recorded how Giustiniani had joked on their departure from Ravenna that Contarini would either remain at Camaldoli, or return to Venice by a dangerous route. Contarini wrote that he had reached Ravenna safely and planned to leave for Venice in a few hours. He said that he always believed that he would have returned safely by this route or by Florence, Bologna, and Ferrara.[79] By the end of May Contarini was writing from Venice of his speedy return from Ravenna.[80] His probable journey was therefore: Venice - Ravenna - Florence - (or Venice - Ravenna - Camaldoli - Florence) Camaldoli - Ravenna - Venice. His visit to Florence can therefore probably be placed in the middle of May 1515.

It was a particularly unsettled moment in Florentine history, but Contarini was clearly impressed and moved by his visit and the personalities he encountered there.

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[77] *C. und C.* Letter no. 16 (29 April 1515) 98.
[78] *Ibid.* no.13 (26 November 1513) 91 & n.7. According to Jedin, Calin wrote to Querini on 9 April 1514 to thank him for allowing him to stay at Camaldoli. On 27 July 1514 Calin wrote to Querini in recommendation of a friend. Jedin is mistaken in supposing that Calin was the father of Muzio Calin, Archbishop of Zara. His father was Luigi Calin, a lawyer, according to *DBI* 16: 725. On Nicolò Dolfin (ca. 1483-1528), who had literary interests (he edited an edition of the *Decameron* published in Venice in 1516 by Gregorio de' Gregori), see *DBI* 40: 554-55.
[79] *C. und C.* Letter no. 17 (undated) 98-99. Jedin assigns the date ca. 25 May 1515.
[80] *Ibid.* Letter no. 18 (30 May 1515) 99-100.

He wrote of his sudden departure from the hermitage and the Florentine 'gentlemen':

> Premature, harsh, and sudden was my leavetaking from you and those gentlemen with whom I have gradually and with very great goodwill become attached, so that it seems to me that my heart has been divided and I have left the greater part there, and believe me, until I reached here, there was no other thought in my mind day or night than of you and yours. I do not know what is the cause of this love in my mind for those lands and of that city...I believe that all of you there have administered some potion similar to Circe's so that I undoubtedly cannot any more call myself Venetian, but Tuscan.

He had hoped that absence would diminish this feeling, but it had not done so and he thought constantly of several Florentine friends.[81]

Several historians have already attempted to identify Contarini's Florentine friends and acquaintances with a view to placing him in the context of the *Orti Oricellari* discussions or of *piagnone* sentiment.[82] Certainly, Contarini was in contact with members of that group, whose interest in the Venetian political system was well-known.[83] He met Raphael Pitti, and his son Alfonso.[84] To the younger Pitti, Contarini sent a letter and an edition of Virgil.[85] The elder Pitti visited Venice in May, 1516 and he was shown around the city by Contarini, but prevented from seeing the treasury of St Mark's basilica and the Greater Council by local custom which, Contarini lamented, was a little stricter than that of Florence.[86]

Pitti's proposed itinerary on this occasion does not necessarily confirm the political content of Contarini's conversations at Florence.[87] In fact, distinguished visitors were shown the treasury from at least 1428 and, like the Arsenal, it became a

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[81] 'Fu cusì inmatura et acerba et sùbita questa mia divisione da vui et da quelli gentilhomeni, con li quali allhora allhora mi haveva con grandissimo benivolentia coniuncto, che a mi pare havere diviso il core et lassato de lì la maggiore parte, nè fin qui, pensative certo, esser stato algun altro pensiero in l'animo mio nè il dì la note se non di vui et di loro. Non so io da qual causa sia processa questa affectione ne l'animo mio di quel paese et di quella cipta...' ; '...tuti vui de lì, credo, con qualche potione simile a quelle di Circe me haveti cusì presso che non più venetiano ma thoscano mi posso senza dubio chiamare'. *Ibid.* Letter no. 19 (9 June 1515) 100, 101.

[82] Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità* (Florence,1988) 120-30 and *C. und C.* 101 n.4 on the *Orti*. See Fragnito (1988) 130-46, and Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: the Savonarolan movement in Florence. 1494-1545* (Oxford,1994) 157, 291, 294-5, 300, 343, on Contarini and the *piagnoni*.

[83] On the growing Florentine interest in the Venetian political system see Rudolf von Albertini, *Firenze dalla republica al principato*, trans. Cesare Cristofolini (Turin, 1970; reprinted 1995) 145-46.

[84] *C. und C.* Letter nos. 19 (9 June 1515) 100-101; 20 (28 June 1515) 104; 26 (26 May 1516) 111.

[85] *Ibid.* Letter no. 17 (25? May 1515) 99.

[86] 'le zogie de San Marco et del consilgio [sic]'. *Ibid.* Letter no. 26 (26 May 1516) 111.

[87] Fragnito (1988) 124 n.165.

regular part of the official itinerary of ceremonial visits to Venice. The Greater Council chamber was used for public and private feasts in a regulated manner from the middle of the fifteenth century, and eminent visitors were allowed to cast a symbolic vote during government proceedings from the second half of the fourteenth century.[88] The significance of Contarini's contact with the Pitti can also be attributed to their strong attachment to Giuliano de' Medici. The Pitti were one of the families which had long formed the true 'oligarchy' of Florentine politics and some members of the family were named as participants in the plot to oust Piero Soderini in August 1512.[89]

Those other Florentine gentlemen who were constantly remembered by Contarini in June 1515 were 'Messer Marcello', Francesco da Diacceto, Raphael Pitti, Pier Francesco da Gagliano, and 'Ruscellai'.[90] There are at least three members of the Rucellai family who could be identified with the person mentioned by Contarini.[91] Cosimo di Cosimo Rucellai, Giovanni and Palla di Bernardo Rucellai were listed among those friends of Giuliano de' Medici who accompanied him in his seizure of the *Palazzo della Signoria* in September 1512, and were later accused of self-interest and ambition by chroniclers.[92] In addition, Giovanni and Palla were members of Giuliano's *Diamante* company.[93] It is not impossible to suppose that Giovanni might have been in Florence in May 1515, since in October of that year he was in Reggio, as a member of Lorenzo de' Medici's company.[94] Both brothers were connected with Francesco Cattaneo da Diacceto, whom Contarini had also

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88 Casini (1996) 198, 201, 288, 290-1, 294.

89 Scipione Ammirato, *Dell' istorie fiorentine*, 2 vols., (Florence, 1600) II, 307.

90 'Messer Marcello...Messer Francesco Diaceto, la memoria de li quali con summa veneratione mi è restato ne l'animo, over Messer Raphael Pithi et Ruscellai, ma sopra tuti il gentilissimo Galiano'. *C. und C.* Letter no. 19 (9 June 1515) 101.

91 *C. und C.* 101, n.4 suggests Giovanni Rucellai (1475-1525), diplomat and humanist at the court of Leo X from 1513. Fragnito (1988) 121, n.148 suggests Cosimino (1495-1519), nephew of Bernardo Rucellai, who participated in the *Orti* discussions in 1515. Nothing should be made of Contarini's use of 'messer' in relation to the Pitti and Rucellai. Although Tuscan custom gave this to identify a lawyer, thus eliminating Palla or Cosimino Rucellai in favour of Giovanni, Contarini uses it indiscriminately *alla Veneziana* throughout his letters. Giustiniani praised Giovanni Rucellai's learning in a letter of 29 September 1511: Eugenio Massa, *L'eremo, la Bibbia e il Medioevo in Umanisti veneti del primo Cinquecento* (Naples, 1992) 82. Both Bernardo and Giovanni Rucellai were at Venice in August, 1508 and in the audience (together with Querini) for Luca Pacioli's 'prolusion' for the opening of the new term of the public school of the Rialto. See above, ch. 1.

92 Butters (1985) 183-4 n.79, 166. Jacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, (ed.) L. Arbib, 2 vols., (Florence, 1842) I, 498.

93 *Ibid.* 207-08. See also Bartolommeo Cerretani, *Dialogo della mutatione di Firenze*. (ed.) Raul Mordenti (Rome, 1990) 60, 70, on Giovanni's dislike of the *piagnoni*.

94 Butters (1985) 267.

mentioned in his letter. Palla had studied under Diacceto and both brothers were the dedicatees of his work *De pulchro*.[95]

On his return to Venice in May, 1515, Contarini wrote to Giustiniani and asked to be remembered to Diacceto and their other friends.[96] In his next letter he recalled Diacceto and 'Messer Marcello' with great veneration.[97] Diacceto, who had known Querini, was a pupil of Marsilio Ficino, he was 'lettore allo studio fiorentino', and taught Palla, Giovanni, and Piero Rucellai. He was particularly interested in reconciling the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle.[98] He was also involved with the discussions in the *Orti* [99], and in 1520 he was elected gonfalonier of Florence. However, his *Paraphrasis in politicum Platonis* deals exclusively with metaphysical questions rather than the composition of governments.[100] Three years later, Contarini wrote with a view to employing him at Padua university: 'I have often argued with Messer Marino for Diacceto to be brought [to Padua], but I have not found the means to be able to persuade our Fathers to do so'.[101]

It is clear that Contarini was most impressed by 'Messer Pier Francesco da Gagliano' to whom he sent a letter from Ravenna in May 1515, before he returned to Venice. To Giustiniani he described how: '...I have a very great affection for his tenderness and your acquaintance with him...'[102] In the following month he was writing of Gagliano:

> ...whom I will love perhaps as much as myself until I die. To whom I have written many times, and now I am writing, because since, for the moment, I cannot otherwise converse with him, I settle down every Saturday to write to him and to spend an hour discussing matters with

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[95] *Letteratura italiana. Gli autori* 2 vols., (Turin, 1990-1) II, 1544-46. *De pulchro* was written 1496-99, but revised and completed in 1514.

[96] *C. und C.* Letter no. 18 (30 May 1515) 100.

[97] *Ibid.* Letter no. 19 (9 June 1515) 101. He is obviously referring to both men, and not just Diacceto as Fragnito (1988) 122 asserts. 'Messer Marcello' probably refers to Marcello Virgilio Adriani (1464-1521), the Florentine chancellor. On him see *DBI* 1: 310-11.

[98] P. O. Kristeller, 'Francesco da Diacceto and Florentine Platonism in the sixteenth century', in *idem, Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* 3 vols., (Rome, 1956-93) I, 175-90.

[99] On which see F. Gilbert, 'Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari: a study on the origin of modern political thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XII (1949) 101-31. For a more recent assessment of the *Orti* see Butters (1985) 59ff., 167.

[100] Von Albertini (1970) 68 n.6.

[101] 'Spesse volte anchora con Messer Marino havemo ragionato di condur el Diaceto, ma non troviamo ben il modo di poterlo fare et di poter persuadere a questi nostri Padri ch'el si faci'. *C. und C.* Letter no.29 (19 April 1518) 114.

[102] '...ho grandissima affectione per la sua gentillezza et vostra relation de lui, a le quale pregove che subito dagati ricapito.' *Ibid.* Letter no. 17 (ca. 25 May 1515) 99. On Gagliano see Felix Gilbert, 'Contarini on Savonarola: An Unknown Document of 1516', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 59 (1968) 145-50: 146, n.6. Fragnito (1988) 121 n.150 notes a letter of Gagliano to Pietro Vettori of 12 February 1538 mentioning Francesco Diacceto.

> him in the only way I am allowed. I do not think I spend a more pleasurable hour during the whole week than that.[103]

Soon afterwards Contarini noted that: 'I have often had letters from Messer Pier Francesco da Gagliano, among which was a long one concerned with and in praise of Fra Hieronimo [Savonarola]'. He added:

> I have replied to him also at length and freely what I feel, because he constrained me to do so. I have not been able to reply to him what I have felt openly, having love for him which, in truth,...is such that I cannot believe. Nor can I discern the cause [of such affection]. However, to all these gentlemen, even to the whole city of Florence I bear singular love and benevolence.[104]

Gagliano himself had a high opinion of Contarini's knowledge of philosophy and theology, as he wrote to Giustiniani in July 1515.[105]

Contarini and Gagliano were together in Bologna to see the meeting of Leo X and Francis I which took place on 11-15 December 1515.[106] In previously unremarked letters of 11-12 December from Bologna from Zuan Contarini to Francesco Contarini (Gasparo's brothers), Zuan described Francis I's entry into Bologna, and his ceremonial meeting with Leo.[107] Gagliano and Contarini proceeded thence to

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[103] '...el quale fin che vivo amerò forse quanto me medesimo. Al quale ho scrito più fiate, et hora scrivo, perchè, dapoichè altrimente per hora non posso conversar con lui, ogni sabato son per scriverli et consumare un'hora ragionando con lui a quel modo che mi è concesso. In tuta la septimana non credo sia per spendere una hora con tanto mio piacere quanto quella'. *C. und C.* Letter no. 18 (9 June 1515) 101.

[104] 'Ho habuto da Messer Pier Francesco da Gagliano spesse volte lettere, fra le quale una copiosa de le cose et laude di Fra Hieronimo.' ; 'Holli risposo anchora io copiosamente et liberamente quel che io sento, perchè cusì mi astringeva che devesse fare. Non ho possuto non risponderli qualche io sentiva apertissimamente, havendoli la affectione che io li ho, la quale, in vero...è tanta quanta non crederesti mai. Nè io saperia di ciò rendere causa alguna. Pur è cusì, benchè a tuti quelli gentilhomeni, immo a tuta quella ciptà de Firenze porti singular affection et benivolentia'. *Ibid.* Letter no. 20 (28 June 1515) 103, 103-04.

[105] 'Post Contareni discessum eius litteris singulis tabellariis sum recreatus...Nihil scribit [i.e. Contarini], in quo non haberi possit coniectura summi amoris eius erga me. Hortatur assidue ad studia; me familiariter docuit causam ab eo dilatae navigationis in alterum annum; rogat, ut me Venetias conferam, optat enim, ut eius maiestatem urbis contempler; non desinit quibus potest argumentis mihi inducere in animum, ut eam navigationem, quam se facturum destinavit, ego etiam suscipiam. Semper multa scribit eaque, ut est vir doctus, multa semper referta eruditione, nec solum philosophiae aliqua edisserens, sed plura etiam theologiae- de religione enim videtur optime sentire-, ut cum eius litteras perlegerim iuvenisque doctrinam mecum volutem animo, pudeat me mei ipsius, qui unus de popolo non ea humilitate qua ille mihi de re christiana sentire videar'. Quoted in *C. und C.* 101, n.6.

[106] *Ibid.* Letter no. 23 (12 January 1516) 108; Sanudo XXI, coll. 371-84.

[107] Sanudo XXI, coll. 375-77. The Contarini genealogy has been constructed by Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1993) appendix 1. Among Gasparo's brothers are found Zuan Antonio (1487-1549) and Ferigo (d. 1535), both sons of Alvise (d. 1502). Presumably, Gasparo also accompanied Zuan to Bologna by way of Reggio and Modena. Ferigo (mistakenly given as 'Francesco' by Sanudo) seems to have been spiritually inclined, and he sought a work 'De contemptu mundi et de excelentia amoris divini' from Giustiniani in 1516. See *C. und C.* 112, 113, 115.

Venice where Gagliano stayed for twenty-four days. His departure had left Contarini unhappy, but he hoped to see him again soon, and he was still in correspondence with Gagliano in November 1516.[108] Unfortunately, Contarini's letters to Gagliano about Savonarola have not survived, but his comments indicate that Gagliano was a fairly convinced *piagnone* supporter while Contarini himself was less sympathetic towards the prophet. Contarini certainly met other *piagnoni* at Camaldoli, including Michelangelo Bonaventura de' Pini. His feelings about Savonarola may have been modified by September 1516, for by then he was prepared to criticize (although he ultimately accepted) Alexander VI's excommunication of the prophet.[109]

Contarini's feelings about Savonarola were obliquely expressed in a letter of March 1516 when he wrote to Giustiniani of: 'The trouble and upset that you have at Florence and Rome because of religion...' For Contarini this was not a new matter because experience showed how the life of man was truly one of continual struggle and he proposed that the way to overcome these difficulties was in hope of man's end and happiness so that one might be tossed hither or thither but yet remain attached to this one branch. Contarini then described how Giustiniani had identified the problems of men dedicated to spiritual matters and how he had also deduced '...the remedy to this illness'.[110] Thus Contarini wrote in general terms about Giustiniani's involvement in the Florentine Synod convened to condemn Savonarola and other prophetic preachers in 1516-17.[111] These moves, initiated as early as February 1516, were connected with the popular credulity at the prophetic utterances of several preachers who were using the language and imagery of Savonarola. Although it is difficult to measure the true extent of *piagnone* sympathy in Florence at this time, it would appear that these preachers were viewed with suspicion by the authorities, and that they were associated with anti-Medicean feeling.[112]

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[108] *C. und C.* Letter no. 28 (15 November 1516) 113.

[109] On this matter see Fragnito (1988) 130-37 and Gilbert (1968a). Michelangelo Bonaventura de' Pini at Camaldoli was a strong supporter of Savonarola: *C. und C.* 72, 100, 104, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 115. A. R. Fiori, *Vita del B. Michele Eremita Camaldolese* (Rome, 1720) is a work of hagiography. Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult B. Ignesti, 'I Camaldolesi e il Savonarola', *Camaldoli* VI (1952) 138-46.

[110] 'Il travalgio et disturbo che havete habuto in Firenze et in Corte per la Religione...' ; '...il rimedio a questa cotal aegritudine'. *C. und C.* Letter no. 24 (4 March 1516) 108, 109.

[111] On this see Polizzotto (1994) 292-311 and Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: prophecy and patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1970). See *TLF* I, 110-16, 356-7, for a list of Giustiniani's notes on various prophecies and prophets, including Don Teodoro, who had preached very successfully in Florence in February 1515.

[112] See M. C. Lowry's critical review of Polizzotto (1994) in *The English Historical Review* XCI (1996) 653-56.

The situation in Florence was complicated when Giovanni de' Medici was elevated to the papacy, and Lorenzo de' Medici left the city in the hands of an inexperienced governor.[113] In June 1515 Lorenzo was appointed Captain-General of Florence. This was an unprecedented (and illegal) act which led the Venetian ambassador to comment:

> This Lorenzo has been made captain of the Florentines against their own laws...He has become the ruler of Florence: he orders and is obeyed. They used to cast lots; no longer: what Lorenzo commands is done...So that the majority of Florentines have no taste for the power of the house of Medici.[114]

Although the Medici retained extensive informal and formal powers in Florence, nevertheless their handling of the revision of taxes was maladroit, and opposition (as revealed by total voting figures on bills in all the councils combined) was higher than in any other year between 1512 and 1527. In addition, there were fears throughout 1515 that the French would move against Leo X.[115] Aristocratic discontent with the Medici was expressed by Guicciardini in his *Del modo di assicurare lo stato ai Medici* (1516), and it was from about this time that the *Orti* nurtured such sentiments.[116] Even Marcello Virgilio Adriani's funeral oration for Giuliano de' Medici in 1516 has been interpreted as a plea from a member of the *Orti* circle for the Medici to bear in mind the examples of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, and to attempt to make themselves more popular in Florence.[117]

In November 1516 Contarini wrote to Giustiniani that he had heard from Gagliano that Giustiniani was in Florence: '...I believe for the matter of Fra Hieronimo'. He added: 'I wrote to you many days ago about how it appeared to me, as you asked me'.[118] This is a reference to the work by Contarini (dated 18 September 1516) on Savonarola which was first published in its entirety in 1968.[119] During the summer or autumn of 1516 Contarini spent some time at his family's villa at Pieve di Sacco

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113 On this see John N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic. 1512-1530* (Oxford, 1983) 77-79; Butters (1985) 263-75.

114 Quoted by J. R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: the pattern of control* (London, 1977) 99. Unfortunately, the source of this quotation is not cited. See also Sanudo XX, coll. 205, 541 for reports of Florentines who were discontented with Lorenzo de' Medici in 1515.

115 Stephens (1983) 101-05.

116 Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: politics and history in sixteenth-century Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1965).

117 John M. McManamon, S.J., 'Marketing a Medici Regime: The Funeral Oration of Marcello Virgilio Adriani for Giuliano de' Medici (1516)', *Renaissance Quarterly XLIV* (1991) 1-41.

118 '...credo per le cose de Fra Hieronimo' ; 'Già molti giorni vi scrissi quel che a mi pareva, secondo che per vui mi fu rechiesto.' *C. und C.* Letter no. 28 (15 November 1516) 113.

119 Gilbert (1968a) 145-50. There is no evidence to suggest, as Gilbert does, that Gagliano 'transmitted to Contarini Giustiniani's request for a statement of Contarini's views about Savonarola's orthodoxy...' *Ibid.* 146. See also Fragnito (1988) 130-37.

where he read several works by Savonarola which he had received from Giustiniani by means of Gagliano. These included the Dominican's *Dialogus de veritate prophetica*, the *Compendio di rivelazioni*, and the sermons he made after his excommunication (possibly those on Exodus).[120] It is possible that Contarini may also have had in mind here Savonarola's letter of June 1497 which protested against excommunication on the grounds of it being against 'Charity' and divine law. These were the very same arguments which Contarini, although citing Aquinas, used to question Savonarola's excommunication.[121]

Contarini argued that Alexander VI's decree of excommunication had been invalid and that Savonarola had been right to carry on his apostolate and to refuse to seek absolution. Contarini concluded that Savonarola was right in saying that the Church was in urgent need of reform; natural and divine reason told him so as human matters proceeded in a circular, not linear, fashion.[122] Contarini, appealing to the authority of St Thomas Aquinas, argued against Alexander VI's decision on the grounds that laws must be imposed by a prince on the grounds that they conform with natural and divine justice. Since love ('charità') was a precept of natural and divine justice, any law: '...made against love is not valid, indeed, one should not follow it'.[123] Similarly, a papal commandment, when a particular and not a universal law, must not be obeyed: '...although the commandments of the pope ought to be interpreted in the best way'.

Contarini proceeded to consider the question of the validity of prophecy: '...if I had not seen in that man a very deep knowledge and I had not grasped his holy life, I would have laughed. And yet his great intelligence and knowledge makes me suspicious of fraud...' He would not personally condemn prophecy *per se* as heretical as it was not against the faith to have prophets in the present day, and prophecies themselves might not contain anything against the faith. With regard to the interpretation of scripture according to prophecy, he asked: 'Who knows all the senses of scripture?'[124] It should be noted that Giustiniani himself tackled the

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120 These are identified in Gilbert (1968a) 147, nn.10-12.

121 Letter entitled 'A tutti li cristiani e diletti di Dio contra la excomunicazione surrettizia nuovamente fatta' (Florence, 19 June 1497). Girolamo Savonarola, *Lettere e scritti apologetici* (eds.) V. Romano, A. F. Verde, O.P., and R. Ridolfi (Rome, 1984) 271-6.

122 (1968a) 147. Augustine rejected pagan cyclic history but some people, like Egidio of Viterbo believed that the events in the Old Testament corresponded with those of the Christian Church. He referred to Virgil's fourth eclogue: 'Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo', and argued that creation had to return to its origins. Cyclic occurrence was fostered by the Church's annual liturgical feasts. Cyclic imagery was found in Hesiod, the cabbala, Origen, and Niccolò Machiavelli, as well as in Polybius. See O' Malley (1968) 100-4.

123 '...facta contro alla charità non è valida, immo non si debba servare.' Gilbert (1968a) 148.

124 '...benchè sempre li comandamenti delli pontefici sie debbino nella miglior parte interpretare'. ; '...quando non vedessi in quello huomo una profondissima doctrina et non havessi inteso della sua

question of the role of prophecy in scriptural exegesis. He concluded that a mystical or prophetic interpretation of scripture was appropriate for the 'perfetti'. However, he did not shun the mystical or prophetic interpretation in the fragments and notes he made for his commentary on the Song of Songs (1506), or as ancillary to an authoritative spiritual writing.[125] Contarini himself had found it difficult to absorb the mystical interpretations of scripture by older theologians which urged a mode of life and a cast of mind which his weakness ('debellezza') could not sustain. However, he was also unable to read the holy scripture itself because of this same sense of weakness.[126]

Francesco da Meleto and others like him were denounced in the synodal constitutions promulgated in 1518, but Savonarola was not specifically condemned, perhaps as a result of the strength of *piagnone* opposition to such a decision in Florence. Interestingly enough, other decisions of the synod and the Fifth Lateran Council affected the *piagnoni* in commanding all friars and priests to wear clerical dress (the *piagnone* custom was to wear simple clothes in veneration of Savonarola), in stipulating character witnesses for candidates for the priesthood, and in a general strengthening of episcopal control over regular and secular clergy. In addition, preaching and prophesying came under closer surveillance. Contarini and the hermits were closely concerned with all of these matters, and it is possible that Contarini himself was in contact with a prominent *piagnone* imprisoned in S. Marco, Florence.[127]

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sancta vita, io di quelle revelationi ne haveria riso. Et dipoi il grande ingegno et gran doctrina mi danno sospecto di fictione; pure il fingere una cosa così puerile mi pare da nuovo, in un tale huomo non so quello mi creda.'; 'Chi sa tutti li sensi della scriptura ?' *Ibid.* 148, 149, 149.

[125] *TLF* II, 195-211. On Giustiniani's scriptural studies see the magisterial Massa (1992).

[126] 'Quelle altre cose de li theologi più vechi, li quali sempre in interpretatione mystice de la Scriptura over in admonitione di uno modo di vivere et di uno affecto di animo, al qual non posso inalzarme, la debellezza mia non sostene..' *C. und C.* Letter no. 8 (26 February 1512) 78. Also *ibid.* Letter no. 11 (17 July 1512) 87. Paolo Simoncelli has presented a strong case for the Savonarolan influence upon the *spirituali* in his *Evangelismo italiano del cinquecento. Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico* (Rome, 1977) ch. 1. Note that Fragnito (1988) 173, n.321 points to a passage in Contarini's *De officio episcopi* (1517) which is analagous to a Savonarolan statement.

[127] There are two interesting documents which Dr Lorenzo Polizzotto has recently examined. 'Vulnera diligentis' (dated to 1519 by Dr Polizzotto) is an Italian treatise in dialogue form by the imprisoned *piagnone* friar Benedetto Luschino and features one 'Gaspar venetiano'. This Venetian, readily identifiable with Gasparo Contarini, is described journeying from Pieve di Sacco to Camaldoli in 1516 and explains to the interlocutors of the treatise that he is to meet Giustiniani at Camaldoli in order to defend his work arguing that Savonarola's teaching is not heretical. The manuscripts of the different parts are at BNF Magl. XXXIV, 7 and BRF 2985. *Loc. cit.* Polizzotto (1994) 290-91 & n.227. On Luschino see F. Patetta, 'Fra Benedetto da Firenze, compagno ed apologista del Savonarola, al secolo Bettuccio Luschino', *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 60 (1924-5) 623-59. Patetta, who suggests that the work was drafted between 1515 or 1516 and 1523, does not explain how the Dominican friar, who was imprisoned in the convent of S. Marco, Florence, from 1509 until at least 1523, could have known of Contarini. It is possible that Contarini visited Luschino at S. Marco in May 1515, or that Luschino heard of Contarini's

The hermits had been involved in these matters in the period before 1517. It is also possible to find in Contarini's *De officio episcopi* striking echoes both of the proposals of the *Libellus ad Leonem* of 1513, and of Savonarola.[128] In both that book and his book on Venetian political institutions, the *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (composed from about five years later), the religious and political concerns are closely related in his theories of human society in a way which strongly suggests how philosophy appealed to him as much as theology or scriptural exegesis. As Contarini explained in the unpublished dedicatory epistle of his work: 'For I am myself conscious of my lack of learning in Christian disciplines...[because] from my early manhood I was drawn to the study of philosophies of barbarous authors, I have spent almost the whole of my life in them...'[129]

Aristotle was undoubtedly the principal 'barbarous' author whom Contarini studied at Padua, and in his leisure hours at Venice. Contarini takes a very Thomist and Aristotelian view of the hierarchy of creation. He places the bishop very specifically in this hierarchy, and explains both his functions in the civil sphere, and his duties towards the celestial. There is therefore a fascinating mixture of concern for the mundane life of the bishop, and for the importance of man's yearning for spiritual

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favourable views on Savonarola from Gagliano or someone connected with S. Marco and Camaldoli.
Dr Polizzotto also notes a 'Copia d'una supplicatione...la quale Fra Pietro Quirino et Fra Paulo Iustiniano veneti et Messer Pietro Bembo Secretario di Papa Leone feciono dare et signare da epso Papa Leone il secondo anno del suo Pontificato et mandaronla così signata a Fra Ruberto [Ubaldini]'. Processi di S. Antonino, MS BNF Conv. Sopp., J.I.51, f. 84v. *Loc. cit.* Polizzotto (1994) 157, n.95. This document is connected with the initiative launched by Leo X in 1516 for the canonization of S. Antonino. In 1520, Ubaldini, a friar of San Marco and a *piagnone*, stepped in and gathered more evidence for a trial and canonization of the founder of the San Marco convent. *Ibid.* 323, and 189 & n.81 on Ubaldini. See also Lorenzo Polizzotto, 'The Making of a Saint: the canonization of St. Antonino, 1516-1523', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 22 (1992) 353-81. The manuscript would appear to date from 1514-15, and therefore postdates Querini's death in September 1514. However Dr Polizzotto has kindly informed me: 'Though included in the composite volume on the canonization of S. Antonino, the document has nothing to do with the canonization itself. It consists of a list of privileges conferred by Leo X on Ubaldini - mostly empowering him to preach at the papal court and even *in partibus infedelium* etc. - at the behest of Querini, Giustiniani, and Bembo. It has been included in the volume...to attest to the spiritual worth of Ubaldini and thus also to his suitability as coordinator of the canonization process'. Dr Polizzotto believes that given the slowness of papal bureaucracy, the original petition must have been made shortly after Leo's election, and therefore before Querini's death.
[128] These echoes have been noted in passing by Fragnito (1988) in her thorough analysis of the text. I offer here a comparative analysis of the texts in order to bring to light further similarities.
[129] 'Nam mihi ipse sum conscius christianae disciplinae eruditionem in me admodum exiguam esse, ut taceam de eloquentiae studiis ac universo orationis ornatu, a quibus jam a prima adolescentia abductus ad studia philosophiae barbaris auctoribus conscripta, omnem fere in his aetatem consumpsi;...' Fragnito (1988) 207.

satisfaction. The letters of Contarini have shown how he was very much concerned with his sense of unworthiness in the face of Christ's sacrifice. The *De officio* indicates that Contarini now had a more secure sense of man's place in the hierarchy. It is worth considering how far neo-Platonic or ascent theories had influenced him as well as to emphasize the importance of Thomist Aristotelianism. Moreover, Contarini's description of the daily life of the bishop may have drawn its inspiration from the works of individuals and organizations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *De officio*, written in the significant year of 1517, looks back to the currents of religious and political feeling which characterized the energy of the Renaissance, and forward to the Catholic response to Lutheranism, both evangelical and Tridentine. Nevertheless, the work forms a coherent whole and must be viewed as an important expression of Contarini's concerns. It is both a concrete agenda for reform and a utopia of the spirit.

The fifteenth century is better known for the reform of individuals and disparate groups in religious life than it is for curial or papal reform. The papacy spent the latter part of the century resisting conciliarist reform. As far as it was concerned, legislative acts such as papal bulls were a more acceptable means of reform. Therefore the force of curial reformers was effectively dissipated and Cardinal Capranica in 1449 could only remind the pope of his duties and call on the enforcement of existing laws as well as the reform of personnel.[130] Almost a century later a similar call would be made by Cardinal Contarini and other curial reformers in the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia.*[131] They acted in the historically and doctrinally correct belief that no lasting reform of the Church could be made without papal approval.

The spontaneous personal and congregational reforms which marked the century in between these calls for reform, while they did not form the basis of a permanent or widespread solution to the Church's ills, nevertheless provided important spiritual elements which can be found in sixteenth-century thought, including that of Contarini. At the time of the Council of Basel a Dominican, Johann Nider had called for a personal sanctification which, by works of charity and apostolic activity, would inspire others so that reform would move up the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the head. He pointed to the reform among monasteries and convents as examples of this process. Many religious orders undertook self-reform by a return to the

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[130] On this and what follows, see Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, (trans.) Dom. Ernest Graf O.S.B., 2 vols., (London and Edinburgh, 1957-61) I, chs. VI-VIII.
[131] The text is translated and printed in J. C. Olin, *Catholic Reform: from Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent 1495-1563* (New York, 1990) ch.3.

primitive strictness of the rule and to the common life. Much of the inspiration for this movement of observant orders, and indeed for lay initiatives like the Jesuates and Oratories of Divine Love, came from the influence of the *Devotio moderna.* The modern devotion combined a return to Christian inwardness and an emphasis on meditation, with lay elements of active work. In Italy, one of the most significant reforming orders to absorb these ideas was that of the Benedictines.

In 1408, Ludovico Barbo established the strict observance of the rule of St Benedict at the abbey of Sa Giustina, at Padua.[132] He also set out to reform monastic government along the Cistercian lines urged by the thirteenth-century papacy by forming a 'congregation' of abbeys under a central authority with the power to appoint abbots annually. By 1439 the congregation was made up of sixteen monasteries and throughout the century its numbers grew, attracting many students from the university. Its example inspired congregational reform at Melk in Austria, in Germany, and at Valladolid in Spain. At the same time the order absorbed Flemish (*devotio moderna*), Franciscan and humanist influences. As a consequence, from the middle of the century the study of Latin and Greek patristic literature was applied to the interpretation of biblical sources to produce an 'ascent' theory of salvation with which Contarini came into contact at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Characteristic of this pattern of salvation was the idea of 'ascent', or the 'scala perfectionis' by which men progressed, with the aid of grace, to some kind of ultimate union with God. Some were concerned with a process of catharsis and illumination while others thought in terms of perfection achieved by an ascetic self-identification with the humble and suffering Christ. All thought in terms of self-purification and detachment from earthly things as preliminaries to a growing knowledge and love of God. For St Augustine, the redemptive power of the cross was critical to enabling man to overcome despair of the power of sin, impotence and death, to enjoy the incorporeal truth. Neo-Platonists used the idea to teach salvation as an ascent through a hierarchy of being from a dark and base material world to the illumination of the spiritual world. In turn, Thomism could assimilate neo-Platonism and emphasize the saving nature of grace as the aid to illumination and ascent to God.

For Contarini, salvation was marked by an ascent to perfection which involved illumination and regeneration through encountering the love of God. This pattern of

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[132] Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars* (Oxford, 1985) 22-3 discusses the importance of 'ascent' theories for Giustiniani.

spiritual love was based upon the antithesis between the flesh and the spirit which was found in Pauline and patristic texts. Contarini encountered the saving grace through Christ's suffering on the cross transmitted *via* the sacraments. However, before he could come to the realization of Christ's saving grace, Contarini was forced to confront the dilemma that in order to ascend to illumination he had to make a great human effort yet he was weighed down by earthly considerations and past sins. Contarini's dilemma was probably quite longstanding before his friend Tommaso Giustiniani decided to turn away from the life of a Venetian patrician to the eremitic life at Camaldoli. Henceforth, Contarini's dilemma was crystallized into a debate about the merits of the active and contemplative lives. The resolution of this crisis would give him the motivation and confidence with which to write the *De officio.*

Contarini's studies and interests, as illustrated by his friendship with the astronomer Marcantonio della Torre, seem largely to have centred upon the structure of the natural world whether revealed through mathematics, geometry, or the elements, all subjects to which he devoted treatises.[133] Like St Thomas Aquinas and St Augustine, he was also concerned with man's place in the hierarchy through which salvation was possible. As a result of the influence of his Paduan tutor, the Averroist philsopher Pietro Pomponazzi, Contarini insisted on the power of man's reason and faith to achieve the ultimate goal of union with God. Giustiniani and Querini began systematically to reject the world, perhaps after they had come into contact with the Benedictines at Sa Giustina. Certainly, at least one of their fellow-students joined the Benedictine order.[134]

Perhaps Giustiniani and his friends were only the most conspicuous examples of the general trend towards monastic withdrawal which appears to have accentuated during the period of the Italian wars. From thirty-five professions on average annually during the 1480's, the Benedictine congregation witnessed an increase to forty-nine in 1501 and eighty-eight in 1507. Over one thousand professions to the congregation were made between 1500 and 1520, many of them by brilliant humanist scholars.[135] However, Giustiniani's choice of the eremitic life was in the

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[133] See Gleason (1993) ch.2.

[134] 'Mi è stato di summo piacere intendere che Messer Bon da Bergomo nostro, olim monacho di Santa Iustina, sia venuto lì all'Heremo, perchè, in vero, dal tempo che el cognobbi in studio in fin hora ho habuto sempre optimo concepto de lui et holli portato grande amore'. Contarini to 'Don Constantino Heremita nell'Heremo di Camaldolle' *C. und C.* Letter no. 25 (25 May 1516) 110.

[135] Collett (1985) 9, 73.

first instance closely connected with his experience of the redemptive powers of Christ whom he imagined on the cross exposing his wounds.[136]

Contarini himself was engaged on one side with the political difficulties facing Venice and on the other with the necessary preparation in Latin and Greek for the contemplation of scripture. He was convinced that the 'via de solitudine' and the 'via de religion' did not offer certain salvation: '...nor even is the civil life the certain [way to] perdition, but in all is the way to succeed to salvation and perdition...[and] to different men are given different ways of reaching an end, namely to salvation'.[137] In a phrase which has its origins in Genesis, Contarini argued that '...solitary life is not natural to man, whom nature has made a sociable animal'.[138] It is a phrase which is echoed in the *De officio* when Contarini argues:

> But since a man alone is not able to supply for himself the things which are necessary for the care of the body, nor can he attain to blessedness by himself, it has come to pass that men have lived together in civil society, in which each, by the help of others, attains either to political or to Christian perfection: so that not merely by their free capacity to choose, but also by the help they give each other, they became the authors of their own perfection and happiness.[139]

This conviction also underlies the *De magistratibus* where he writes that 'man is a civile creature'.[140] One cannot love and contemplate God in oneself alone, but as Augustine says in his *De Trinitate*, 'in one's neighbour'.[141] In Giustiniani's view, Contarini's rejection of the eremitic life and preoccupation with secular matters savoured of humanism. On the death of Contarini's friend della Torre, Giustiniani remarked that : 'Perhaps...a Euclid prepares the ladder for him to mount up to the glory of God with his own propositions? Perhaps a Cicero will pray so ornately for

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136 '...che apriva sul legno della Croce le sue sante braccia per abbracciarmi, e non pur le braccia, ma il fianco fino al cuore avea aperto per accettarmi nel petto suo, se io vorrò amare più lui, che le cose umane'. Letter of December, 1510 from Giustiniani to all of his friends *AC* IX, coll.467-96; 475. On the importance of Christ's wounds and eucharistic imagery for Giustiniani, Querini, and Contarini see above, ch.2.

137 '...nè etiam la vita civil certa de perditione, ma in tute essendo modo di pervenir a salute et a perdition...' ; '...a diversi homeni sian state date diverse vie de pervegnir ad uno termine, zoè a la saltue [sic]'. *C. und C.* Letter no. 5 (November, 1511) 70.

138 '...il viver solitario non è natural a l'homo, el qual la natura ha fato animal sociabile...' *Ibid.* Letter no. 7 (26 December 1511) 73.

139 'Sed quoniam homo solus nequaquam sufficit ad ea sibi comparanda quae pro tuendo corpore necessaria sunt, nedum beatitudinem per se acquirat; effectum est, ut homines simul viverent in civili societate, in qua alter alterius ope, tum politicam, tum etiam Christianam adipisceretur perfectionem: ut non tantum propter liberam eligendi vim, sed etiam propter operam vicissim praestitam sibi ipsis essent perfectionis ac foelicitatis auctores'. *Opera* 402.

140 Contarini (1599) 8.

141 'in proximo nostro'. *C. und C.* Letter no. 7 (26 December 1511) 73.

him that he will persuade the eternal Lord of the sky to receive him in his land?'[142] Contarini actually assumed a position which rejected neither Christian humanism nor the ascetic and personal piety of the *Devotio moderna* and Paulinism. This constituted the 'middle way' for which he had so long striven.

Contarini's illumination came to him during Holy Week in 1511 when he experienced the salvation given by Christ through the sacrament of communion at the Benedictine monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore, at Venice. Contarini realized that no amount of penance on his part would ever be enough to satisfy his past sins, or to merit salvation. However, Christ's Passion was enough to account for men's sins, and all men could do was to strive to be united with him: 'through faith and hope and that little measure of love we are capable of'.[143] By this conviction Contarini's spirit, altered from fear and sadness to joy, rose towards the Divine Goodness on the Cross whom he saw with arms open to receive him and to make him a sharer in His satisfaction for men's sins, securing from the Father the cancellation of his debt which he alone was powerless to achieve. Contarini declared:

> Will I not also sleep securely, although in the middle of the city, although I have not satisfied the debt that I have contracted, since I have such a payer for my debt? Truly, I will sleep and live so secure as if my life were spent in the hermitage, with the intention of never abandoning such a support... [144]

Traditionally, writers such as Aquinas had valued the contemplative life over the active. Contarini argued that although the contemplative life was nobler than the active life, nevertheless the active life in which man helped others in their spiritual struggle had greater merits. This constitutes Contarini's 'via media' in essence and it explains why he could attack the life of the hermit and encourage Querini to abandon it for the life of a cardinal in 1514. Filled with despair at his boredom with the study of the Bible, Contarini returned to the idea that man with his own forces was unable to work his salvation and that he must trust to God's love proved by Christ's death. This trust in God's abundant love had reinforced his conviction that

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[142] 'Forse un da lui difeso e laudato Aristotele adesso il riporrà in cielo? Forse un' Euclide gli preparará la scala con le sue proposizioni da montar alla gloria di Dio? Forse un Cicerone orerà si ornatamente per lui, che persuaderà il Signor eterno del cielo a riceverlo in la sua patria?' *AC* IX col. 553.

[143] '...el qual per la sua passion satisfacesse per tutti collori...' ; 'Solum fatigar se dovemo in unirse con questo nostro capo con fede, con speranza et con quel poccho di amor che potemo'. *C. und C.* Letter no. 2 (24 April 1511) 64.

[144] 'Non dormirò adonque io securo, benchè sia in mezo la cità, benchè non satisfaci al debito che ho contracto, havendo io tal pagatore del mio debito? Veramente dormirò et vegierò cusì securo come se tuto el tempo di la vita mia fosse stado ne l'Heremo, con proposito di non mi lassar mai da tal apozo'. *Ibid.*

man had the right to live in the world and for the world. Contarini's intellectual pursuits were useless, and he decided to spend his life in the world according to the status which he had been assigned by God. In this life of constant struggle he could nevertheless hope to rise to heaven whilst at the same time pursuing secular affairs. From at least 1511 onwards Contarini put his middle way into practice in Venetian life. The fruit of this renewed confidence in the midst of the city and the rejection of the *contemptus mundi* were his attempts from 1511 onwards to understand fully the scriptures, his reading of Thomas Aquinas, Plato and St Augustine, and the composition of his work on the ideal bishop.[145]

In the *De officio* Contarini was largely concerned with the office of bishop, and in synthesizing his political and religious concerns into some coherent view of society. While Contarini stated that he had worked to combine moral philosophy and the precepts of Christianity[146], nevertheless moral philosophy often seems to be a more important element in the work. As he put it in his dedicatory letter to Pietro Lippomano, he was concerned with: 'the office of a good man and a good bishop'.[147] In his reconciliation of the active and contemplative lives in his own life and writing, Contarini seems to have benefitted from the work of St Thomas Aquinas. It has not previously been noticed that Contarini's approach in the *De officio* closely follows that of Aquinas in his work on the religious state, the episcopate and priestly office.[148] In this work, Aquinas defined perfection in spiritual life as the attainment of charity, and the perfect love of God was only attainable in Heaven. He advocated the renunciation of earthly possessions, and marriage, and emphasized the importance of vows and the love of our neighbours in order to aspire to that love.[149]

Aquinas argued that although both the regular clergy and the bishop entered the road to perfection by taking vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, nevertheless he considered the episcopal office to be more sacred than the religious life. He asserted that while contemplation which was undertaken by monks was nobler than the active life in which bishops were involved, yet the bishop was obliged to produce perfection in others, and he therefore required a greater degree of perfection in himself than the monks' state, which was perfect in itself. Aquinas thought that: 'it

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[145] See eg. *ibid.* Letter no.11 (17 July 1512) 87-9; letter no.13 (26 November 1513) 92.
[146] Fragnito (1988) 208.
[147] '...de officio viri boni ac probi episcopi'. *Ibid.* 207.
[148] St Thomas Aquinas, *The Religious State, the Episcopate, and the Priestly Office*, (ed.) Very Reverend Father Proctor, S.T.M. (London, 1902).
[149] *Ibid.* chs. I - XV

is better to *do* something than to *be* something'.[150] Just as Contarini would, Aquinas emphasized that the bishop should give temporal assistance to others, and he noted that the bishop should be preeminent in active life and must also excel in contemplation. Like Contarini, Aquinas cited Romans IX.3: 'For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh' to the effect that service to God through the service of others was more perfect, even if it detracted from the contemplative life.[151] Therefore, the episcopal dignity presupposed perfection as it required the bishop to act as spiritual teacher and temporal guide to his flock.[152]

The immediate occasion for the composition of the work may have been the accession of the youthful Lippomano to the bishopric of Bergamo, but Contarini may also have had in mind as his ideal Pietro Barozzi (1441-1507), Bishop of Padua from 1487. Bishop Barozzi's inclination towards pastoral activity was probably stimulated by the examples of Ermolao Barbaro at Verona, San Lorenzo Giustiniani in Venice, Fantino Dandolo and Iacopo Zeno at Padua, Marco Barbo at Treviso as well as his uncle Giovanni Barozzi, bishop of Bergamo.[153] Barozzi called frequent diocesan synods which issued and published its constitutions. He was concerned with the calibre of the clergy, some of whom did not know the words to accompany the sacraments. He examined and reformed such men during his pastoral visits.[154] The Venetian publisher Aldus Manutius praised Barozzi in 1490 for his skills in Latin, medicine, geometry, and the law before his expertise as a bishop.[155] Barozzi is also supposed to have written a work *De sacerdotis officio*[156], and his *De ratione bene moriendi* (ca.1472) partly considered the bishop's need to know his flock and his pastoral duties, as well as the conduct of his own household.[157]

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[150] *Ibid.* chs. XVI - XVII: 93.
[151] *Ibid.* ch. XVIII: 97-8. Contarini cites this passage of scripture at *C. und C.* Letter no.4 (22 September 1511) 69.
[152] Aquinas (1902) ch. XIX. Aquinas cites St Gregory's views on pastoral care at several points in this and the preceding chapter: 97, 106. Giustiniani and Querini (and probably Contarini) were familiar with his *Liber regulae pastoralis*: *AC* IX, col. 581.
[153] Pierantonio Gios, *L'attività pastorale del Vescovo Pietro Barozzi a Padova (1487-1507)* (Padua, 1977) ch.II.
[154] *Ibid.* Chs. III - V.
[155] Giovanni Orlandini (ed.), Carlo Dionisotti (intro.), *Aldo Manuzio Editore. Dediche. Prefazioni, note ai testi.* 2 vols., (Milan, 1975) I, 163.
[156] *DBI* 6: 512.
[157] Oliver Logan, 'The Ideal Bishop and the Venetian Patriciate: c. 1430-c. 1630', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29/4 (October, 1978) 415-50: 423-26.

Contarini noted in the *De officio* that he had seen Barozzi in Padua, and occasionally commented on his Christian activities.[158] Like Contarini, Barozzi was drawn into discussion of the immortality of the soul at Padua. In 1489 he condemned discussion of the unity of the intellect in public - that is to say, outside the university.[159] There are striking (and previously unremarked) similarities between the actions and thought of Barozzi and the proposals of both the hermits and Contarini. Barozzi believed that priests should be carefully selected for ordination, and that nuns should read their monastic rules in the vernacular. He emphasized the importance of monastic libraries and clerical residency. He was opposed to popular superstitious practices, and believed that monks encouraged these superstitions. He wanted a prohibition placed on Jewish usurers and he believed that a general reform of the Church was necessary by means of a General Council following a period of calamity marked, for him and Delfin, by the advent of Charles VIII. These were all matters considered by Contarini and the hermits, though Contarini failed to mention the use of diocesan synods and visitations in his work.[160]

Contarini's treatise begins with the assertion that men cannot obtain temporal or eternal felicity except in a community. Kings and bishops preside over peoples in order, respectively, to guide them to these ends. The bishop's dignity is greatly superior to that of the prince whose ends are political and not spiritual. The bishop stands between divine spirits and man in the hierarchy, and he participates in angelic and human natures.[161] Therefore he must have greater perfection of soul. Contarini stated in his *Compendium primae philosophiae* (1526-27) that: 'nothing among the things of this world is of simple substance but everything consists of two parts, one form, one matter. Form gives to everything its aim and its particular nature'.[162] In this way, each thing in the universe had a place in the hierarchy assigned to it by its

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158 *Opera* 418, 421, 429.

159 Gios (1977) 294-5.

160 *Ibid.* 107, *Opera* 422, *AC* IX, col.697 (ordination of priests); Gios (1977) 185-6, *AC* IX, col.681-83 (reading of monastic rules); Gios (1977) 210-11, *AC* IX, col.683-88 (monks encouraging superstition); Gios (1977) 249-50, *AC* IX, col.697-98 (clerical residency); Gios (1977) 315-16, *AC* IX, col.673 (prohibition of Jewish usurers); Gios (1977) 351-54, *AC* IX, col. 683-88, *Opera* 425; Gios (1977) 355-58, *AC* IX, col.708-09 (general council). Contarini's work as well as those of Barozzi, Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381-1456), Agostino Valier, Gerolamo Vielmi (d. 1582), and Alvise Lollin (1552-1625) upon the ideal bishop are considered by Logan (1978). Despite the fact that Contarini fails to mention the diocesan synods and visitations which were key for Barozzi, Dr Logan considers the work more a call to reform than a work of learned theology or profound spirituality. See also Fragnito (1988).

161 Contarini dealt with the related question of the immortality of Man's soul in his *De immortalitate animae* (1517-18) reprinted in his *Opera* 179-209.

162 'Nulla in rebus hisce, quae infra limam agitantur, substantia simplex est, sed omnis ex duabus partibus constat, quarum alteram dicimus formam, alteram vero materiam: forma actus, perfectio, ac propria uniuscuiusque rei natura est'. *Opera* 169.

'form'. The source of all spiritual forces is God, the pure spirit; below Him are those beings that have a primarily spiritual nature, like the angels; next come the celestial bodies and then the human beings, which exist at the place where spiritual forces and material factors are in balance; and below man come those bodies which are weighted toward matter: animals, plants, metals, and the elements. Man therefore lives in the Christian world, as exemplified by the bishop, and the political world ruled by the prince. Man is aided in his struggle for perfection by both: therefore the best bishop and best prince must be found.

Contarini therefore proceeded to describe how an ideal bishop should be formed. He should be free from concupiscence and must be courteous and affable and 'not unpleasant to pleasant friends and other men'.[163] However, an irascible temper was necessary for such a man who would gain thereby in force, vigour, constancy and firmness in life, and death itself would not be fearful to him. However, docility should also form part of the character since it would ensure that reason might prevail over impulses of anger to allow the prince or bishop to discern good. Justice and prudence were virtues of the rational inclination and while a man could live in civil society without the latter, the former virtue was indispensable, for without it there could be no association. The prince should ensure that each private man was just to the other by vigorously impeding wrong-doing and by being prudent and diligent in the exercise of justice. Similarly, the bishop should study to be just by reading history and natural science, and contemplating divine things. By such prudence man was prevented from descending to the level of the beasts but was not allowed to achieve perfect happiness.

Perfect happiness, according to Contarini, came only from Christian religion: 'in which, by the faith and law of Jesus Christ and of God we hope to draw near to the divine'. However, man could not achieve this happy state during his earthly life and might only perceive the barest traces of it. However, the first book of the treatise concluded by considering the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity which would allow man 'to progress out of himself towards the divine, so that he will perceive the absolute and perfect happiness which follows death'.[164] Faith procured the knowledge of divine things and it was essentially to be found in scripture, though it was not wholly comprehensible intellectually. Hope aided man to have faith in the attainment of blessedness. However, charity was divinely placed above

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163 'iucundis amicis [...] caeterisque hominibus non ingratus'. *Ibid.* 406.

164 '...in qua per fidem legemque Iesu Christi Dei & hominis ad assequendam divinitatem pervenire speramus...'; 'semina quaedam consequatur, ad eum finem adipiscendum'.; 'supra se quodam modo attolli, paulatimque ad divina progredi, ut sic affectus post obitum absolute perfecteque beatitudinem consequeretur'. *Ibid.* 410.

both of these theological virtues. The bishop must work to obtain these virtues in order to allow him to care for his flock properly. Just like the authors of the *Libellus,* Contarini was also concerned that priests and bishops should be well educated in the mysteries of the Trinity, Eucharist and Incarnation, as well exercising charity towards the needy and poor.

The second book considered the specific duties of the shepherd of souls: divine service, governance and care of the flock, and the administration of ecclesiastical goods. Contarini described the bishop's day which began with the recitation of divine office. This was followed by a celebration of mass before listening to the problems of his flock. As the *Libellus* recommended, the bishop enjoyed a frugal meal whilst engaging in religious discussions. After lunch the bishop engaged in conversations with friends and listened to music. The food and dress of the household should be in line with the bishop's dignity. Contarini then gave a great deal of attention to the choice of secular clergy. He attacked the poor conduct of some clergy.[165] Candidates must therefore be morally above criticism. The *Libellus* argued that no priest should be ordained unless he were of good character and intelligence.[166] Contarini added that the clergy were therefore to be instructed in theology, canon law and scripture. Preaching might be useful for the instruction of the laity in the Gospels, holy books, or in philosophy.[167] He observed that people often had superstitious beliefs and ascribed events of a divine nature to demons or to the stars. They were also susceptible to the operations of charlatans, apocryphal writings and invented prayers or prayers of intercession to saints rather than to God. Finally, after attacking the rivalry of religious orders (whose infringement of bishop's duties often excited episcopal complaints to Rome) and calling on the reform of female monasteries, Contarini concluded with a call to aid the poor and needy, including the 'shamefaced poor', inspired by the examples of the apostles.

There are striking parallels between Contarini's *De officio* and the *Libellus ad Leonem* which have recently been highlighted.[168] There is in both works the same concern for the education of bishops, the importance of scripture, the conduct of individual bishops, the importance of preaching, the dangers of superstitious

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[165] 'Qua in re hac tempestate, meo quidem iudicio, gravissime fere omnes peccant, nullo enim discrimine habito & scelestissimi & maxime ignari omnium bonarum artium homines ad participationem divinae potestatis, quem est in sacerdotibus admittuntur'. *Ibid.* 422.
[166] 'neminem nisi probatae virtutis atque doctrinae ad sacerdotalem dignitatem assumant'. Quoted in Fragnito (1988) 180, n.338.
[167] *Opera* 424.
[168] Fragnito (1988).

practices among the laity, and monastic reform.[169] Both works were also much concerned with the opening up of new lands. Contarini opened the second book of *De officio* arguing that civil life is natural to man, and that among the peoples of the newly discovered lands God is unknown and the people worship other gods of stone or bronze, cows and other animals.[170] These observations reflect Querini's description of 'India minore' where he described how the peoples there worshipped many different gods.[171]

At the end of his life, Contarini wrote that his life had been pledged to activity and to the satisfaction of God.[172] Contarini's commitment to action in the world led him to be concerned with institutions and their place within the Aristotelian and Thomist hierarchy which he described. The *De officio* is most strikingly different from the *Libellus* in the way it emphasized Contarini's belief in hierarchical systems which gave each man a place in civil society. Contarini believed that the good ordering of civil society allowed him to pursue his spiritual ends without resorting to the monastic or eremitic life. Contarini's sense of unworthiness as a man weighed down by temporal concerns but at the same time attempting to reach God, was tempered by his experience of the Catholic theology of justification. His abiding concern for reform was heightened by this feeling of God's grace transmitted (specifically through the sacrament of communion) through the Church whose material body and spiritual welfare were in need of renewal.

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[169] Compare *Opera* 405, 420, 422-26 and *AC* IX : coll. 675-79 on impropriety of some pagan authors and importance of a clergy educated in Scripture and not concerned with theological disputes; compare *Opera* 407, 419-21, 429 and Jedin (1966) on the importance of a well-ordered and thrifty clerical household; compare *Opera* 424, Fragnito (1988) 209, and *AC* IX: coll. 679-80, 683-88 on the importance of preaching and dangers arising from superstition; see *Opera* 426 and *AC* IX : col.702 on the reform of female monasteries; and see Fragnito (1988) 209 and AC IX: coll.688-91 on the problem of disagreement between the monastic orders. Fragnito (1988) 184, n.351 remarks that the two works differed in their approach to the episcopal supervision of religious orders in that Contarini could only enjoin vigilance over orders in conformity with the bull, *Dum intra mentis arcana* (19 December 1516) at *Opera* 424, rather than the juridical control proposed by the *Libellus* at *AC* IX: coll. 678-9. It is Dott. Fragnito's view that the fact that Contarini was addressing a bishop while the hermits were addressing Leo X explains this difference.

[170] '...nihil mirum videri debet, si naturali innataque inclinatione convertatur ad Deum, quem colat, ac veneretur, huic rationi res ipsa firmam facit fidem. Nam neque ullis unquam temporibus gentem aliquam fuisse, neque hac tempestate inveniri, vel in extremis oceani littoribus, vel in insulis penitus a reliquo orbe divisis, memoriae proditum est; apud quem nullus esset Deorum cultus: licet de diis alia alij sentiant; maluntque bovi aut igni, aut saxeo vel aeneo simulacro divinum cultum praestare; quam omni prorsus religione carere'. *Opera* 414.

[171] Vincenzo Querini, 'Relazione delle Indie Orientali' 3-19 in E. Albèri (ed.) *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 15 vols., (Florence, 1839-63) *Appendice*, 8. Therefore, Contarini needn't have had recourse to Pietro Martire d' Anghiera's *De orbe novo decades* (1511, 1516) as Fragnito (1988) 170, n.314 supposes.

[172] Giuseppe Alberigo, 'Vita attiva e vita contemplativa in un' esperienza cristiana del XVI secolo', *Studi Veneziani* 16 (1974) 177-225: 212.

His work *De officio* brings together all of these concerns, and he recognized in 1542 that: 'True reformations are internal, which only God can accomplish, not merely external such as men can perform'.[173] His internal reformation had begun by 1509, and the external reformation which he had hoped for gained a fair wind from Rome by the time of his death in 1542. Paul III enacted legislation which required the residency of bishops. Although this reform, as well as those proposed by Contarini and other cardinals, did not immediately translate into reality, nevertheless: 'The ideal of the bishop as conceived by Catholic reform was on the march and was steadily gaining ground'.[174]

Just as the *De officio* responded to growing papal secularity and spiritual lassitude and offered external and internal remedies to clerical failures, so his work on the institutions of Venice offered a framework for the lives of secular men which recognized that men and women needed well-ordered laws which were consonant with the divine hierarchy. He began working on his *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* only six years after his work on the bishop. By 1523 Contarini was serving as Venetian ambassador to Charles V in Spain. Just as he and Querini had been animated by a debate about the relative merits of the active and contemplative lives, so religion continued to shape Contarini's politics and *vice versa.* There is some evidence that like Querini, Contarini was struck by the nature of Spanish religious practices. It is also possible to detect in the work his concerns about Charles' monarchy and its developing imperialist mission. It is no longer possible to treat the work as a straightforward piece of Venetian propaganda. A careful contextualisation and examination of the text will reveal that while Contarini owed much to Thomism and Aristotelianism, nevertheless he was aware of the nature of government in Florence, Spain, and the empire. This awareness was coupled with a concern for the unity of Christendom and the leadership of the papacy in a way which draws the study of the *De magistratibus* out of the narrow dimensions of Venetian historiography and *apologia* in which it has too often been placed.

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[173] 'Queste sono le vere riformatione interiore, quale solo Dio puole fare, et non solamente exteriore, quale possone fare li homeni'. Alfredo Casadei, 'Lettere del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini durante la sua legazione di Bologna (1542)', *ASI* (1960) CXVIII, 77-130, 220-85: 87.

[174] Jedin (1957-61) I, 444. On this matter, see *ibid.* 440-5, and ch. VII on the ideal of the bishop and the spontaneous reform of members which Jedin links to the rejection of classical humanism, the return 'ad fontes', and renewed attention to, and emulation of, the Church Fathers.

Chapter 6

The Origins and Fortunes of Gasparo Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*

'Sans aultre peine avoir de ta maison tu pourras veoir Venise'
- Jean Charrier, translator's preface to Gasparo Contarini, *Des magistratz, & republique de Venise* (Paris, 1544)

i. The origins

The study of Gasparo Contarini's description of the machinery of Venetian government has generally been made with close reference to Venetian fortunes during the war of the League of Cambrai (1509-17).[1] These studies have considered the work as a response to these events and as an expression of Contarini's Thomist hierarchical conception of society in a specifically Venetian form, drawing on Venetian precedents. There is no doubt that the work shares common characteristics with other pieces of writing produced in Venice after 1518 when Venetians sought to reiterate more effectively the traditional themes of Venetian endurance, justice, and perfection of governmental machinery. It has therefore been placed among those works elaborating the 'myth' of Venice, particularly during the military, legal, and cultural reconstruction during the ducal reign of Andrea Gritti (1523-38).[2] These have emphasized how Venetian writers may have sought to distinguish Venice from classical and contemporary Rome in military, political, and religious terms.[3] More recently, Florentine and Venetian republicanism has been compared and contrasted.

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[1] H. Hackert, *Die Staatsschrift Contarinis und die politischen Verhältnisse Venedigs in 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1940) consists of a brief biography of Contarini and a description of the contents of Contarini's work. A third part briefly analyses the text with reference to some Aristotelian and Thomist sources. However, Hackert emphasizes the idealizing aspect of the work. See also principally Lester J. Libby, Jr., 'Venetian History and Political Thought After 1509', *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973) 7-45; *idem*, 'Venetian Patriotic Humanism in the Early Sixteenth Century'. (Unpublished Brown University Ph.D. dissertation, 1971); William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance values in the age of Counter-Reformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) 145-53; Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1993) 110-28.

[2] See particularly Libby (1971) ch.II which draws extensively on the Venetian state archives for the post-1515 period. Gleason (1993) 125-28 notes Contarini's close association with Gritti. The Grittian 'renovatio' in its many forms is examined by Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin, 1985), and Ennio Concina, *La macchina territoriale: la progettazione della difesa nel Cinquecento veneto* (Rome, 1983).

[3] Giovanni Silvano, *La 'Republica de' Viniziani'. Ricerche sul repubblicanesimo veneziano in età moderna* (Florence, 1993); Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli antichi e altri saggi* (Milan and Naples, 1967) ch.V; Bouwsma (1968) 151-2.

However, there has been an historiographical tendency to accept this conclusion without question. Just as an examination of religious currents in Venice in the first decades of the sixteenth century reveals a wide variety of inspirations and means for Church reform and spiritual renewal shared by reforming clerics and laity, so Contarini's work benefits from a broadening of the contextual approach. During the period in which he composed the work Contarini travelled widely in the service of the state. His appointment as a cardinal in 1535 has possibly obscured the importance of these missions which have not been fully studied. By examining Contarini's dispatches and the view of non-Italian political systems which they reveal, and in turn by examining the views of Contarini's contemporaries and the fortunes of the work, the treatise may be more properly contextualized in this chapter.[4] By these means the work's historical significance and contribution to political theory may be assessed more accurately. Contarini emerges as a more international figure than a narrow view of his Venetian preoccupations allows. In turn, the positive side of Contarini's decision to embrace an active life in the world whilst maintaining his contemplative bent, whatever the contradictions and difficulties it engendered, is reasserted.

It was during his ambassadorial mission to Charles V in Spain that Contarini composed the *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum.* Felix Gilbert has argued from internal evidence that the earliest date of writing of the work was 1523, with the latest revisions being made after 1531. He has suggested that Contarini dictated, as was his custom, the first parts of the treatise in 1523-24 and he cited three pieces of internal evidence to support this claim. He also argued for a revision date of 1531 or later.[5] However, it is

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[4] I am thinking here of Professor Peter Burke's approach in his *The Fortunes of* the Courtier. *The European reception of Castiglione's* Cortegiano (Cambridge, 1995). He combines textual and paratextual elements in this study, recognizing that besides the private reader's experience of a text there is a public function in the preface, typography, and publisher which can allow for a more nuanced view of a book's historical significance and influence. The importance of the study of successive editions of Contarini's works and their fortunes in order to understand Counter-Reformation thology has been suggested by Gigliola Fragnito, 'Aspetti della censura ecclesiastica nell' Europa della Controriforma: l' edizione parigina delle opere di Gasparo Contarini', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 21 (1985) 3-48: 6. This suggestion may equally be applied to his political works.

[5] Felix Gilbert, 'The Date of the Composition of Contarini's and Giannotti's Books on Venice', *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967) 172-84. He cites Contarini's references to the League of Cambrai (1508) as having been in action 'fifteen years' before the time of his writing; a new law (1519) passed 'four years' previously; Gritti's election as Doge (1523); and a new law (1531) passed by the Ten: *Gasparis Contarinis Opera* (Paris, 1571) 309, 311, 311 & 287, 317; Gasparo Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice. Written by the Cardinall Gasper Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire*...(London,1599; facsimile reprint, Farnborough, 1968) 109, 113, 113& 58, 127-28.
I follow the 1571 edition of Contarini's *opera* which shows some minor textual variations (especially variations in word order made for stylistic reasons) from the *editio princeps* (1543). The pronoun 'cum' is consistently replaced with 'quum' in the 1571 edition, and Greek words are given in Greek characters. The word 'civitate' at Contarini (1543) 1 is changed to 'urbe' in Contarini (1571) 261, but this is not a consistent alteration. The only major factual interpolation made to the text in the 1571 edition concerns the authority of the Ten in matters of religious observance. The passage: 'Sed nostris temporibus decemvirum authoritas latius serpsit' : Contarini (1543) 63, is altered to read: '...nostra etiam tempestate additum fuit, ut ab his iudicibus constitueretur mulcta ad iudicium exerceretur in quosdam

possible to adduce further internal evidence for assigning the date of composition of the entire work (and not simply of the first four books as Gilbert suggests) firmly to 1523 at the earliest, and 1527 at the latest. In addition, it is possible to provide new evidence which challenges Gilbert's assertion that it was unlikely that Contarini showed a fragmentary manuscript of *De magistratibus* to his friends after 1525. It is also possible to confirm Gilbert's conclusion that the *De magistratibus* was 'without doubt the primary literary work through which this myth [of Venice] gained acceptance [and that]...Both works, Contarini's as well as [Donato] Giannotti's, were immensely successful'.[6]

Gilbert has argued that Book Five was a later addition to the work on the basis of a passing reference to a law of 1531. However it is possible to argue that it was part of a coherent first draft dating to 1523-24. In the third book, Contarini noted: 'I will likewise shew, that the training and exercising the youthes to the exercises of warre is not in the Citie neglected, as some suppose'.[7] However, there is no mention of this topic again until the fifth book where there is a substantial section devoted to it.[8] In addition, in the third book Contarini states that he will: 'make mention of certaine statutes & ordinances, by the which the danger of the common peoples mislike, in that they also have not part in governing the commonwealth is cleerly avoided, with their great satisfaction and contentment'.[9] This matter is not taken up again until Book Five.[10] In the fifth book itself there is a reference to the first book. Contarini remarks: 'For as I said in the beginning it was necessarie and fitte for the true and perfect institution of a commonwealth, to exclude the common people from the government thereof...'[11]

Some other previously unnoticed statements made by Contarini in the work help date it more accurately. In the fourth book Contarini does mention his being *Provedador sora la camera de imprestidi* , to which post he was elected in October 1518 for two years.[12] However, when he discusses the Council of Ten at some length he does not mention his being a member of that body between September, 1530 and August, 1531, as well

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scelestissimos homines, qui maledictis Deum optimum vel beatam Virginem incessere ausi essent'. Contarini (1571) 297.

[6] Gilbert (1967b) 182, 183, 184.

[7] 'Docebimus item haudquaquam omissam fuisse, ut plerique existimant, publicam ad rem bellicam iuventutis institutionem'. *Contarini* 83; *Opera* 298.

[8] *Contarini* 128-38; *Opera* 317-21.

[9] 'Postremo nonnulla instituta exponam, quibus optime meo quidem iudicio cautum est, ne populus & plebs minutior aegreferat nullam sibi in hac Republica gubernationis partem esse'. *Contarini* 83; *Opera* 298.

[10] *Contarini* 138-49; *Opera* 321-26.

[11] 'etenim necesse fuit, ut in exordio operis dixi, si recte Respublica instituenda erat, populum a gubernatione Reipublicae excludi...' *Contarini* 139; *Opera* 321.

[12] *Contarini* 114; *Opera* 311. His election is recorded in Sanudo XXVI, col.129.

as his being one of the three *capi* for October and December 1530; March and June 1531; October and December 1533; or March 1534.[13] Nor, when discussing the 'sages' does he mention his assumption of the office of *savio grande* on 1 April 1530.[14] In addition, in the fourth book, when he discusses the *Provveditori alla Sanità*, the magistrates concerned with the health of the city, and particularly for the prevention of infectious diseases, he asserts that since the creation of this magistracy (in 1486): 'there hath not beene (in a manner) any pestilence at all', except for some houses, whence it has not spread about and taken root.[15] This passage seems to ignore the serious outbreaks of typhus and plague which struck the city in 1528-29. It has been noted that the number of plague cases recorded between April 1528 and November 1529 was 1,850, a small number in comparison with the outbreaks of 1575-77 or 1630-31, but nevertheless significant as being of an unaccustomed severity and being widespread over all of Italy, notably in coastal cities, and it certainly had a great impact on the city of Venice in social terms. The provisions for poor relief which arose from this incident are also ignored by Contarini.[16]

Turning from the text itself there is other evidence which may be useful for dating the work. It may be possible to discern echoes of Contarini's concerns in his book in a letter he wrote in February 1523 to his friend Giustiniani.[17] In it, Contarini described the various physical discomforts which he had had to endure as ambassador to Charles V. He also described the state of his mind (as was his wont with Giustiniani) and the various 'affecti' of his 'instabilissimo core' which he did not elaborate upon, trusting that Giustiniani would understand as a prudent man, well-versed in the ways of the world. However, he did say that he had come to the conclusion that one could not purge one's heart of these 'affecti' by one's own works, but one should have recourse to the Divine Grace imputed by Jesus. He went on to say:

> From which I clearly comprehend those ancient philosophers who saw the truth of this, saying that happiness [faelicità] was necessary for the purification of the soul from these emotions...acquiring the habit of goodness [virtù] which represses these emotions.[18]

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[13] *Contarini* 76-83; *Opera* 295-98. On Contarini's *cursus honorum* see Gleason (1993) 63-64.
[14] *Contarini* 69-76; *Opera* 293-95.
[15] 'sed postquam novo huic magistratui haec cura demandata est, numine divino favente, nulla pene pestilentia fuit'. *Contarini* 117-19, 118-19; *Opera* 313.
[16] Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1971) 219, 250.
[17] *C. und C.* 115-17. Letter no.30 (7 February 1523) Valladolid.
[18] 'Onde chiaramente comprendo quelli philosophi antiqui: benchè vedesseno la verità in questo, dicendo che a la faelicità era necessario la purificatione de l'animo da li affecti, niente di meno erano poi grandi paci, pensando questa purificatione potersi fare per la asuetudine, aquistando li habiti de le virtù le quale reprimesseno li affecti'. *Ibid.* 117.

This passage certainly seems to find an echo in his *De magistratibus* when he asserted:

> But a life happie [foelix] and blessed is so tearmed of great Philosophers, the which containeth in it selfe the use of vertue [virtutis]...[19]

It is also worth noting that the evidence of Contarini's dispatches supports the idea that he composed the work during 1523-24. While he sent 141 dispatches during the first year of his embassy when the diplomatic situation was particularly tense, during his second year (1522-23) he sent sixty-one, and only fifty-four between 4 April 1523 and 2 April 1524. The figure rose again to eighty-five for the year 1524-25. Therefore, 1523-24 was a moment of relative calm, giving Contarini time to compose his *De magistratibus*, as well as his work *De elementis*.[20]

Contarini was elected as ambassador (his first such post) to the Emperor Charles V in September 1520[21], and he left Venice in order to take up his post the following March.[22] He was charged by the Venetian government to establish contact with the French ambassador at the imperial court in accordance with the Venetian alliance with France.[23] During his embassy, which lasted until August, 1525, and which took him through German lands, the Low Countries, England, Spain, and France, Contarini encountered considerable hostility from the imperialists at court because of Venice's alliance with France.[24] This hostility is often dramatically revealed by Contarini's detailed dispatches.[25] At the beginning of his embassy he praised the life of the ambassador as:

> most wonderful and honourable, very similar to, if not greater than, that of study. Here [at Worms] there are many men learned in Greek, Latin, and philosophy, although I have not yet made their acquaintance.[26]

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[19] 'At foelix beataque vita usu virtutis praecipue contineri a summis philosophis perhibetur...' *Contarini* 8; *Opera* 264.

[20] He notes at the beginning of that work that he has taken time from public duties to write it: *Opera* 1. I suggest a connection between the subject matter of each work below, p.195, n.36.

[21] Sanudo XXIX, col.202 (24 September 1520).

[22] *Ibid.* XXX, col.29 (16 March 1521).

[23] On Contarini's embassy see Gleason (1993) 29-39.

[24] On Habsburg and Valois rivalry in this period see Richard Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: expansion and conflict* (London, 1993) ch. 10.

[25] The dispatches are in BMV, Ms It., Cl. VII, 1009 (=7447). I have consulted these and the careful translation made by Rawdon Brown in PRO Mss. 31/14/70 and 31/14/71 (following the stamped foliation). As Gleason (1993) 30, n.132 remarks: 'The dispatches would merit detailed analysis and fuller discussion than they receive in [Franz Dittrich, *Gasparo Contarini, 1483-1542: eine Monographie* (Braunsberg,1885)]...section 2'. See also those printed in Sanudo *ad ind.*; and *C. und C.* Letter no.30 (7 February 1523) Valladolid: 115-17.

[26] '...belissima et honoratissima, simillima a quella di studii: se non che questa è magiore. Qui ci sono molti docti homeni et greei [sic] i latini et philosophi, benché non li habi ancora conosciuti'. Sanudo XXX, col. 217 (letter of 25 April 1521 from Worms to N. Tiepolo in Venice).

However, he later found his mission wearisome as it ate up his family's money, he fell ill in Spain with a permanent megrim, and he encountered diplomatic hostility. Nevertheless, this passage suggests how he might have found the mission conducive to the composition of his philosophical and political works.

Like Querini, Contarini countered imperial disapproval of the Franco-Venetian alliance by urging the emperor to consider the peace of Christendom and the need to defend it against the Turks. The imperial chancellor, Mercurino di Gattinara, with whom Contarini developed a sparring relationship, observed that Charles planned to fight the Turks, but only after he had returned to Spain, organized his revenues, and been crowned in Italy.[27] Contarini, who responded enthusiastically to Gattinara's plan, reported soon afterwards that Charles himself had expressed his desire for a Holy expedition against the Turks.[28] However, despite a prophecy from Constantinople about the defeat of the Turks at Cologne by a king of Spain, which Gattinara related to Contarini, Charles (a young man of twenty-one at the time) gave a more pragmatic assessment of his aims. To Contarini's urging that he consider the 'myriads of Christians prostrate before him' requiring his aid against the Turks, Charles replied that he was in closer danger, and needed to secure himself before turning elsewhere.[29] On one occasion Contarini found his own argument for a crusade used against him. The papal nuncio, Marino Ascanio Caracciolo called upon Contarini to recall his obligation as a Christian and to help expel the French from Italy so that Suleiman might be more quickly crushed. Contarini replied that Venice was intent on defeating the Turks and had built around 130 galleys in the previous few years. He added that Venice needed the support of all Christendom, or all of Italy and Europe would be overrun.[30]

The possibility of peace between France and Spain and the Empire seemed very remote at the beginning of the Venetian's mission. At the imperial Diet of Worms in 1521, Contarini was worried that Charles would go into Italy in order to pursue his anti-French policy. He reported that he had heard that Charles had said: 'Either the king of France will efface *me* from the earth, [or] I shall render him the smallest prince in Europe'.[31] As a result, Contarini observed that everybody at court, even his friends, shunned him, for fearing to seem pro-French[32], particularly as he was 'considered a

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[27] PRO 31/14/70 Brussels (19 June 1521) f.36v.
[28] *Ibid.* Brussels (16 July 1521) f.45v.
[29] *Ibid.* Ghent (23 July 1521) f.57v; Ghent (27 July 1521) f.57v. In the dispatch from Ghent (29 July 1521) f.61r Contarini described how Suleiman was bent on the destruction of Christendom.
[30] *Ibid.* Oudenaarde (25 November 1521) ff.125v-126r.
[31] 'Over il Re di Franza mi ruinerà dal mondo, ò ch'il farò il più picol principe de la Europa.' *Ibid.* Mayence (3 June 1521) f.33r.
[32] *Ibid.* Brussels (9 July 1521) f.49v.

Frenchman'.[33] Despite Contarini's protestations that Venice's alliance with France would make her reluctant to allow imperial troops to pass through her territory on their way to expel France from the Duchy of Milan, nevertheless he admitted that Venice would not be bound to allow France to pass into the Tyrol to attack the imperialists, and indeed would refuse. Gattinara retorted that the troops would pass through the mountains whether Venice permitted it or not.[34] Contarini noted that Andrea Gritti (elected Doge in 1523) was considered very partial towards the French.[35] He was continually obliged to justify Venetian adherence to France to the imperialists, notably Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, Bishop of Palencia, and to Gattinara - who urged Venice to ally with the empire.[36]

At the end of July 1523 an alliance between Charles V, Ferdinand, the pope, Henry VIII, and Venice was concluded after lengthy negotiations on Contarini's part. The strain upon the Venetian had begun to tell more than a year previously. Contemplating his voyage to England and further travels Contarini remarked: '...the which I pray God may I make with more mental quiet than has been vouchsafed me during the last year of my legation'.[37] He requested a successor to be appointed eighteen months after he had begun his mission on account of the expenses that he had incurred, as well as the illness and constant travel he had endured, and the lack of suitable accommodation at Valladolid.[38] His successor was not appointed and Contarini had to repeat his request a year later.[39] Between 1523 and 1525 when he was in Spain he was obliged to defend Venice's apparent continuing friendliness towards France and the Republic's failure to support Charles in his war against France in Lombardy. Venice's awkward position was perilously exposed when, in February 1525, the French army was crushed at Pavia and Francis I was taken prisoner.[40] Contarini's warning in 1521 that: 'should the war

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[33] *Ibid.* Ghent (20 July 1521) f.54v.
[34] *Ibid.* Bruges (22 August 1521) ff.75r-77v.
[35] *Ibid.* Oudenaarde (28 October 1521) f.113r (Dispatch to the Council of Ten); Oudenaarde (25 November 1521) f.123v.
[36] Palencia remarked on several occasions: 'You are not French, but arch-French', and 'There are more Frenchmen at Venice than in Paris'. *Ibid.* Bruges (20 May 1522) f.214r.
[37] *Ibid.* Brussels (23 March 1522) f.186v.
[38] PRO 31/14/71 Valladolid (20 September 1522) ff.36v-37r. Note that Contarini reported that he had been afflicted with a megrim or hemicrane ('una hemicrania') since he had arrived in Spain (five months before) and that he had been unable to decipher the letters from the Ten: *ibid.* Pamplona (5 December 1523) f.98v. He only deciphered the Ducal missive of 22 September 1523 on 11 December 1523: *ibid.* Pamplona (11 December 1523) f.104v. In a letter from Valladolid at the beginning of 1523, Contarini complained to Giustiniani of the 'grandissimo incommodo de alogiamenti et del vivere' at the city, where he had been for six months, as well as 'mio travalgio grande del corpo, ma magiore de l'animo' which he had experienced since his voyage from England. *C. und C.* Letter no.30 (7 February 1523) 115-17: 117, 116.
[39] PRO 31/14/71 (21 August 1523) f.80r.
[40] Sanudo XXXVII, col.649.

continue, as appears to me inevitable, I know not how the Signory will be able to serve two masters', rang as truly for Venice four years later.[41]

Charles' victory at Pavia seemed to confirm imperial supremacy in Europe for the time being and was greeted with dismay in Venice.[42] Contarini was in a unique position to observe Charles and his court as their power grew. He noted Charles' growing skill and intelligence as a monarch.[43] He also noted the ambitions for imperial aggrandizement which some imperial courtiers revealed. Charles himself told Contarini that he did not wish to tyrannize over Italy but only to maintain the truce with Venice, place the Duke of Bari in the Milanese, and restore the duchy of Milan to the Sforza.[44] Charles reminded Contarini on another occasion that he, not Francis I, was Venice's land and sea neighbour.[45]

The extent of imperial power was often emphasized by Palencia in his conversations with Contarini. The bishop often expressed his admiration for Venice as the bulwark of Christendom against the infidel.[46] He also praised Venice for its virtue and learning.[47] However, he used ingenious arguments drawn from scholastic authors to prove that Venice owed its allegiance to the empire. Palencia noted Venice's treaty obligations to France and declared that just as the scholastic Duns Scotus had said that the children of infidels could be baptized against their will by reason of superior power, so Venice's obligation to the superior power of the papacy and empire overruled her obligation to France. Contarini observed that St Thomas Aquinas had disagreed with Scotus, who was nevertheless correct when he proposed that the observation of treaties was *de jure gentium* and *de jure divino* so that even with enemies faith should be kept. With sovereigns the observance of an oath was *primae tabulae*, and Venice could not break the confederacy without failing in its obligation towards God.[48]

Palencia's argument changed direction and he framed his argument in terms which mixed threat with an appeal to political realism. Palencia marvelled that Venice had not been attracted to Charles, and 'had not been drawn to this eastern sun'. Had Venice heard of a league between an emperor, a king of Naples, and a king of Spain, the Republic would have readily joined it. Palencia noted that in fact Charles represented

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[41] PRO 31/14/70 Ath (7 November 1521) f.116r.
[42] 'Et fo concluso esser una pessima nova per questo Stado'. Sanudo XXXVII, col.649.
[43] Contarini advised the Venetian government not to alienate Charles who 'becomes more intelligent daily'. PRO 31/14/70 Brussels (30 August 1521) f.84v.
[44] *Ibid.* Antwerp (16 July 1521) f.52r-v.
[45] *Ibid.* Ghent (25 December 1521) f.141r.
[46] *Ibid.* Brussels (18 September 1521) f.93r.
[47] 'la virtù et doctrina che era in quella città di venetia'. *Ibid.* Oudenaarde (28 October 1521) f.110r.
[48] *Ibid.* Brussels (18 September 1521) ff.93r-v.

Naples, Spain, the Empire, the duchy of Burgundy, and the arch-duchy of Austria.[49] He then asserted that Charles merely wished to free Italy from French oppression, and that his own ambitions were not important. He warned that Charles would be strong again as soon as he returned to Spain, and that Henry VIII might become an ally.[50] Palencia reminded Contarini that Charles, like Venice, had claims to papal territory, and had in fact joined with Leo X in pressing those claims. In addition, Charles was a young man who would probably live for another forty years. Charles did not want anything from the Venetians, but he wished it to hold peacefully what it now held litigiously and controversially. Charles had great wealth available in Spain, and for every 100,000 ducats spent he would force Francis I to disburse one million.[51]

Contarini himself commended Gattinara's assertion that Charles would fight the Turks: 'seeing that many and many a year had passed without witnessing an emperor in possession of such wide dominions as those now subject to him'.[52] However, Contarini was concerned to regain Venetian possessions in imperial hands, and in a discussion of this matter one year later, Gattinara was led to assert that imperial territorial rights derived from the Roman emperor, Augustus Caesar. Contarini first noted that Venice and the former emperors had ever been on good terms.[53] In order to revive that goodwill affected by the war, Venice 'was desirous of imitating the law enacted by the Greeks amongst themselves after much civil strife and which they denominated "the law of oblivion of past events"', and for possessions to be returned to their pre-war owners. Gattinara replied that the emperor would be pleased if everything which belonged to the House of Austria and the empire were returned. Contarini added that if one went back to the first origin of things it would be found that at the beginning of the empire, the majority of the emperors were the occupants of what belonged to others. Gattinara replied that this was true for Julius Caesar, but not for Augustus Caesar who had obtained all juridically by permission of the Romans, which Christ confirmed by saying (Matthew 22.21): 'Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's'.[54]

Contarini observed a representation of Charles' claim to imperial authority in London when Charles and Henry VIII made their formal entry into the city in June 1522. On

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[49] 'non respexisset hunc orientem solem'. *Ibid.* Oudenaarde (28 October 1521) f.110r.
[50] *Ibid.* Oudenaarde (25 November 1521) ff.124r-v. Henry VIII did ally with Charles V in August, 1521.
[51] *Ibid.* Ghent (28 December 1521) ff.143r-v.
[52] *Ibid.* Brussels (19 June 1521) f.36v.
[53] Contarini noted on another occasion that Venice's attachment to Charles V was due to the importance of Venice's connection with Germany. *Ibid.* Trent (23 March 1521) f.5r.
[54] "Reddite quae sunt caesaris Caesar, et quae sunt Dei, Deo". *Ibid.* Brussels (2 April 1522) ff.194v-97r.

this occasion a triumphal arch had been erected which depicted Charlemagne under a canopy holding two swords. Charlemagne gave to the emperor the sword of justice, and to the king the sword of triumphant victory.[55] During the Venetian's stay in England, Cardinal Wolsey, attempting to draw Venice into a triple alliance with Charles, warned Contarini that Gattinara was intent on imperial world domination which only the intervention of Henry VIII could mitigate.[56]

It is possible to discern a disguised reply to Gattinara's claims of imperial jurisdiction over Venice or Milan in Contarini's description from Spain of Cortés' discovery of 'La Scaltezza' [i.e. Tlaxcala] which he described as governing itself in a republican fashion. He wrote that it was at war with a sovereign (the Aztec Montezuma) who claimed jurisdiction over the city whose inhabitants chose to live in freedom.[57] Interestingly enough, Contarini compared the lagoon situation of this city with Venice in his *relazione* of his mission in 1525.[58] He may have read Cortés' admiring description of Tlaxcala's agriculture and laws: 'and the orderly manner in which, until now, these people have been governed is almost like that of the states of Venice or Genoa or Pisa, for they have no overlord'.[59]

Considering the representations of imperial power he had witnessed it is perhaps significant that Contarini congratulated Charles on his victory at Pavia (1525) in terms of religious leadership rather than territorial and political domination. He was among the first to greet Charles on hearing of the news and he announced that all Christians should rejoice at this victory:

> ...because your majesty being the [secular] head of Christendom, and seeking nothing but the common weal; that which is to your profit; profits all other Christians; and our Lord God, who knows your goodness has always exalted you, and will do so for the future, even to the accomplishment of your own wishes; so that I hope ere long, your majesty will take your crown at Constantinople, the site of the Imperial throne.[60]

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[55] Contarini describes the procession: PRO 31/14/71 London (6 June 1522) f.8r-v. Of the triumphal arches he wrote: 'some [represent] the commencement of the Empire in the West; others the genealogy of their Imperial and English Majesties...'

[56] Wolsey said to Contarini: 'Iste Cancellarius Caesaris, nimis petit, et ductus his felicibus successibus Caesaris in Italia vellet dominari toto orbi, sed Rex meus interponet et se tanquam bonus et communus amicus'. *Ibid.* Hampton Court (13 June 1522) ff.15v-16r.

[57] *Ibid.* Valladolid (24 September 1522) f.37v.

[58] Eugenio Albèri (ed.) *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 15 vols., (Florence, 1839-63) ser. I, vol. II, 53.

[59] Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*. Trans. and ed. A. R. Pagden. Intro. J. H. Elliott (London, 1972) 68. This passage comes from the second letter of 30 October 1520 which reached Spain in 1521 and was first printed in Seville on 8 November 1522. A Latin translation was printed in Nuremberg on 20 August 1524. An Italian edition was published in Venice in 1524. *Ibid.* pp.lx-lxi.

[60] PRO 31/14/71 Madrid (12 March 1525) f.194v. Contarini's declaration is similar to the view taken at Bologna in 1529.

To Charles' inevitable reproof that Venetian forces had not joined the imperial troops to a greater extent, Contarini replied that there would not have been any worse news for Venice than that the French had come into possession of the Milanese (which Clement VII had promised to Francis I at the beginning of 1525). Worse still would have been the news that Suleiman had taken advantage of the continuing war to overrun Italy. Charles then asserted that: 'I never had any other wish, than that of pacifying Christendom and turning my forces against the Infidel'.[61] Contarini noted that at Mass the next day he wore sombre clothing: 'nor did he chuse any mark of rejoicing to be made; not evincing either by word or deed; the slightest sign of arrogance at this such great good fortune; a circumstance in truth rare and admirable'.[62]

However, Contarini was obliged to consider these matters with Gattinara in rather more prosaic terms. He initially compared the chancellor's position as an Italian and an advisor to the emperor with that of Joseph and the Pharaoh - one worked for the benefit of Italy through Charles, just as the other had brought great benefit to the Jews. Contarini then proceeded to excuse Venice's failure to join with the imperial forces by boldly asserting that the Republic certainly did not trust the French. He then urged Gattinara, as an Italian, to encourage Charles' desire for peace between Christians. He explained that Venice had not joined the forces at Pavia because her whole territory would have depended upon it: 'and remembering that the Republic had ever been unfortunate in all her pitched battles as known to the whole world...'[63] The Venetians had expected the King of France to be routed because Pavia was well-garrisoned and provisioned. Just as Fabius Cunctator had struck against Hannibal, the imperial commanders had endangered themselves in a daring attack. Contarini was glad to hear that Gattinara had later expressed the fear that Venice would encourage the Turks to come into Sicily and Naples.[64]

Contarini gave a very dispassionate account of the new king and his empire on his return to Italy, even though the capture of the French king at Pavia had greatly increased Italian fears of Charles' imminent arrival in the peninsula - fears mixed with prophetic hopes which were not entirely dipelled until Charles' coronation at Bologna in 1530. In his 1525 *relazione* of his mission, Contarini described how the private Habsburg territory Charles had inherited from Maximilian was divided into many provinces with many 'signorotti' possessing some jurisdiction, although none that was notable in

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[61] *Ibid.* f.195r.
[62] *Ibid.* f.195v.
[63] *Ibid.* f.196v.
[64] *Ibid.* f.197r.

itself. He noted that the substantial revenues of these territories had been alienated from Maximilian, and that Ferdinand's attempts to recover them (as well as his Spanish upbringing) had aroused hostility.

Contarini's description of the imperial lands in Germany emphasized their piecemeal nature and the small contribution which they made to Charles' finances. These lands were divided into ecclesiastical principalities, secular principalities, non-princely baronies, prelacies, free cities, and imperial electorates. He described their participation in the imperial diets, but also noted that the emperor had the power to admonish and excommunicate anyone who deviated from them.[65] However, although the great provinces recognized the Emperor, they did not pay him anything, and the free lands paid him very little. The Germans did not like Charles or Ferdinand personally, but they were of little influence because each state was divided against the others. By contrast the territories of the Low Countries (Burgundy, Flanders, Brabant, Artois, and Holland), which Charles had inherited from his maternal grandmother, retained their ancient privileges, and in all of the cities governance was in the hands of the whole people, except Antwerp, which was governed by a few nobles. All of these provinces were friendly towards the emperor, and he could expect a great deal of money from them in time of war.

Contarini's account of the Emperor's Spanish possessions in his *relazione* concentrated on their divisions and disenchantment with Charles. Contarini arrived in Castile in the aftermath of the Comuneros revolt of 1521, and hostility to Charles there was still quite strong. His description of the composition of the Cortes of Aragon emphasizes the instability of that institution which was made up of a mixture of the clergy, the nobility by blood, and the people ('popolo'). Unlike the mixture of Aristotelian parts which Contarini described in Venice at this time, that of Aragon was certainly not stable or temperate. He noted with evident disapproval that each of the estates claimed to be 'creditore' of the king in some respect. Each part could suspend the resolutions of the Cortes if they were found to be unsatisfactory in some way: 'from which there comes the freedom of a cobbler or a smith to impose the interdict upon everything if he is not satisfied.'[66] The emperor had tried to abrogate these privileges through his chancellor, and he was consequently not much liked there. The government of Castile seems to have been better regulated. He noted that the chancelleries of Valladolid and Granada were comparable to the 'parlamenti' in France, and the 'senati' in Milan and acted as

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[65] On the struggle of the Imperial Free cities to assert their independence by means of the Imperial diets see Thomas A. Brady Jr., *Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire, 1450-1550.* (Cambridge, 1985), especially ch.4.

[66] 'ond'è in libertà d'un calzolaro, di uno fabro ed altro simile tenere il tutto interdetto, finché non gli sia satisfatto'. Albèri (1839-63) 30.

minor courts of appeal. He noted that a bishop was president of each chancellery and that the bishops were very much involved in government in Spain.[67]

According to Contarini, Charles' revenues had been drained away by the disorders and civil wars of Castile, and by his wars elsewhere. He disapproved of the way in which the administration of justice in Spain, although 'grande' nevertheless 'soon declines more quickly to cruelty, than to any clemency'.[68] The emperor was not much liked because of his perceived intimacy with the Flemish and his favouring them with his trust. The animosity between the 'popoli' (i.e. the urban élite, clergy, artisans and labourers) and the 'signori' added to more ancient factions in Castile. He described how the revolt of 1520-21 had begun when it was feared that Charles' expenses for election would drain the kingdom, the Cortes of Segovia had torn to pieces one of their procurators for consenting to the king's request in some measure, while that of Toledo honoured its procurator for resisting the king.

Antonio de Fonseca (Captain-General of Castile) sought to punish Segovia for its actions, but only managed to burn down part of Medina del Campo in August, 1520 and provoke 'le comunità' into rising. Many members of the Castilian aristocracy viewed the rebel junta sympathetically or neutrally at first, as they had been alienated by the grant of offices to foreigners by Charles.[69] However, the 'popoli' took up arms against the 'signori' who had alienated much crown property. The royalist revival was accompanied by the radicalization of some Comuneros, particularly the artisans and labourers of Valladolid who seem to have developed a radical political programme.[70] Contarini judged that this struggle ensued with great bloodshed on the part of the people and without much reward for the nobility. Now Charles had greater authority than any previous Castilian monarch because he would be supported by the people if he chose to remove the nobles from their land.[71]

There is surprisingly little discussion of Spanish religious matters in the *relazione* or in his dispatches, although he lived in all of the major Spanish towns at some point and he appears to have developed quite a close relationship with Charles' own confessor.[72]

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[67] *Ibid.* 38-9.

[68] 'In Ispagna si fa grande giustizia, la quale però declina più tosto a crudeltà, che ad alcuna clemenza'. *Ibid.* 44.

[69] Stephen Haliczer, *The Comuneros of Castile: the forging of a revolution, 1475-1521* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1981) 168.

[70] *Ibid.* 185-8, 199-200.

[71] '...le quali tutte sono cessate con uccisione e danno delli popoli, e poca remunerazione delli grandi, in che eziando fu Cesare poco grato ad ambe le parti'. Albèri (1839-63) 46. On Charles' failure to reward the victorious aristocratic partisans of the crown see Haliczer (1981) 210-11.

[72] In his dispatches from Spain he often mentions obtaining information about Charles from the confessor, whose identity I have been unable to establish.

However, he did not approve of the Inquisition in the way that Querini had. His attitude towards it was probably coloured by the fact that he had had personal experience of it. In 1525 he came before it to seek the release of three Venetian captains (including his brother) who had been seized on suspicion of selling a Bible printed in Hebrew, Latin, and Chaldaic, with annotations by a Rabbi. Contarini argued that it was the custom in Italy, and indeed of the Roman Catholic Church, to tolerate infidel authors like Averroes, although they seemed to contradict the faith.[73] He explained in his *relazione* that everyone was afraid of the Inquisition and that it acted with greater severity than Venice's Council of Ten: 'To me it appears that it exercises a true tyranny against those poor new Christians, whom they have unspeakably tortured...'[74] His experience of the Inquisition also led him to make the general observation that the Spanish were 'molto cerimoniosi' in all affairs, especially matters of faith: 'by reason of the many new Christians in Spain. Thus, a trifling thing is considered important'.[75] Interestingly enough, the *Tre Savii Sopra l' Eresia* or *Assistenti* who served as lay representatives on the Venetian Inquisition from the 1540's were often drawn from the Ten, although they more often than not acted as a check on the Inquisitor who was appointed by Rome.[76]

Like Querini, Contarini considered Spanish overseas possessions in detail, noting the discoveries of Columbus and the Portuguese, and Alexander VI's demarcation of territory. He noted that the Eastern Indies and China had been opened up, and that the Portuguese predominated there, as Charles had shown less diligence in that direction than his father. However, the discovery of lands in the West Indies continued and he had been informed by Pietro Martyr d'Anghiera that in the first years of rule the Spanish had cruelly killed more than a million souls by forcing them to dig for gold. Some other native Indians had died as a result of desperation, or by the hands of their own mothers.[77] Now slaves were being sent out from Africa, and Contarini himself observed some who, together with Spaniards destined for the New World, fled into the mountains. He described the explorations of Hernán Cortés since 1520, and the idolatrous inhabitants of Toltech whose vases and feather pieces Contarini had greatly admired in Germany and Spain. He noted that the Venetian Sebastian Cabot was about

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[73] PRO 31/14/71 Madrid (7 February 1525) f.184r-85r; Sanudo XXXVIII, coll. 200-03; Gleason (1993) 35-36.

[74] 'A me pare che eserciti una vera tirannide contro quei poveri cristani novelli, delli quali hanno fatto tanto strazio, che più dire non si potria'. Albèri (1839-63) 40.

[75] PRO 31/14/71 Madrid (7 February 1525) f.185r.

[76] Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Oxford, 1983) 39, 40-4.

[77] Pietro Martirio d'Anghiera wrote from Logrono (in Spain) on 28 September 1523 that: 'Gaspar Contarinus Venetus Orator literas a sua Illustrissima Reip. mihi ostendit, quibus narratur, Turcarum equitum millia esse in Belgradi...' *Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis*...(Amsterdam, 1670) Lib. XXXVI, epistola DCCLXXXVI, 461-62: 462.

to undertake further voyages of exploration, the details of which he had failed to elicit in a long conversation with the explorer in December, 1522.[78]

Of Charles personally he wrote insightfully, and noted that he had no territorial ambitions, enjoyed warfare, wished to fight the infidels, and to come to Italy.[79] Of Gattinara he wrote that: 'he counsels Caesar the way to make a universal monarchy', as well as to crush France and the infidels. As Charles could not trust France, he had to remain on friendly terms with Italy, particularly as Venice was most useful for any war against the infidel. He added that:

> ...in the matter of monarchy the Romans and Cyrus, and others, which were states like universal monarchies, they did not rule over everything by their own hand but they had favourites looking after their own interests. This is the way the emperor is guided by the chancellor.[80]

It is Professor Elisabeth G. Gleason's view that Contarini developed no admiration for the Habsburg court and government, although the evidence of the dispatches is rather equivocal.[81] Contarini acutely foresaw the continuing growth of imperial hegemony in Italy which the deficiences of his government in the Low Countries or Spain could by no means hinder. There is no sense in which the Venetian looked to Charles V as a new world emperor to restore political unity as Dante had hoped, and the *De magistratibus* reveals some distrust of imperialist monarchy in ancient and modern times.[82] His immediate concern is the defence of Venice during these crucial years and his call to Charles V to lead a crusade may be interpreted as arising from a Venetian concern for its vulnerable Adriatic flank and the defence of Christendom, rather than from any illusions about the imperial mission in Italy.

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[78] On this, and for an excellent biography of the Cabots, see the article by Ugo Tucci in *DBI* 15: 702-23, 713.

[79] '...non dimostra essere ambizioso di stato; ben ha grande ambizione d'armeggiare, e molto desidera ritrovarsi in una giornata di guerra; dimostra eziando d'avere gran di fare l'impresa contro gl'infedeli; desidera eziando sommamente di venire in Italia, pensando che da questa sua venuta dependa la grandezza sua'. Albèri (1839-63) 61.

[80] '...consiglia costui Cesare per la via di farsi monarca universale...' *Ibid.* 58; '...nè questo osta alla monarchia, imperocchè i Romani, Ciro, ed altri, che sono stati quasi monarchi universali, non hanno però per mano loro propria signoreggiato il tutto, ma hanno avuto favoriti, godendo esse frattanto il proprio. Questa è la via per la quale guida il cancelliere la maestà cesarea'. *Ibid.* 59.

[81] Gleason (1993) 35-6. F. Ambrosini argues that Contarini considered a universal monarchy of Charles V not a threat but a possible advantage to Italian states: *Eadem*, 'Immagini dell'impero nell'ideologia del patriziato veneziano del '500', in Amelio Tagliaferri (ed.) *I ceti dirigenti in Italia in età moderna e contemporanea (atti del convegno cividale del Friuli, 10-12 settembre 1983)* (Udine, 1984) 67-80: 70.

[82] F. A. Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston, 1975) ch.1; John M. Headley, *The Emperor and his Chancellor. A study of the imperial chancellery under Gattinara* (Cambridge, 1983); *idem*, 'Rhetoric and Reality: Messianic, Humanist, and Civilian Themes in the Imperial Ethos of Gattinara', in Marjorie Reeves (ed.) *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period* (Oxford, 1992) ch.13.

Contarini's view of Charles V may have been conditioned by ambiguities inherent in the emperor's actual position which was still, in many ways, poised somewhere between his Burgundian roots, and Spanish future. While Querini concentrated in the *relazione* of his mission in 1506 upon the nature of the Burgundians, Contarini gave the Spanish more mature consideration. In terms of policy, he noted that Charles was still motivated in his campaigns primarily by an anti-French feeling but that many of the Spanish, who agitated for an imperialist stance, distrusted Charles' Flemish background. It has recently been argued that by the end of the fifteenth century: 'the Habsburg view of their past was increasingly given to submerging the Burgundian component into a far wider [geo-political] context', and that Charles 'particularly looked to the Burgundy of the Valois dukes for inspiration'. He was depicted by Titian in his 1548 equestrian portrait wearing the collar of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, and in retirement he read the work of the historian Olivier de la Marche (ca.1425-1502) who regarded Charles the Bold as the ideal prince, and his era as one of relative political stability.[83] It would surely be wrong to propose that with his legacy of Spanish lands and his imperial election of 1519 Charles himself inherited a fully developed imperial mission. It is interesting to note in this regard the letters which Tommaso Contarini, Gasparo's brother who accompanied him on this embassy, sent from Flanders and Spain. These dwellt on court ceremonial and jousting matches (for which the Burgundian court was famous), including those in which Charles V himself took a part with great success.[84] Even Gasparo was moved to describe these jousts in a letter to his brother-in-law, Matteo Dandolo.[85]

The origins of Contarini's book on Venice lie in the first instance in Spain, although it has been established in previous chapters that his view of civil society had been recognizably formed by the time he left for Spain. Nevertheless, Contarini certainly worked on the book after his return to Italy, and it is important to establish the stages it passed through before he circulated it in manuscript to his friends, and it made its way out of Venice and into Europe. Such an analysis - not previously attempted - has to be made before examining the text and the themes it contains which are relevant to this study. This type of 'paratextual' analysis aims to show how there is, besides the author's own view, a private reader's experience of the text, and a public function in the circulation of manuscripts, and in the printed prefaces, publishers, and apparatus, which give a more nuanced view of the work's historical significance and influence.

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[83] Alistair Millar, 'Olivier de la Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c. 1425 - 1502' (Unpublished University of Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis, 1996) 288, 289, 298, and ch. 7 in general. On Charles V's reading in his retirement see Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V: the growth and destiny of a man and of a world-empire* (1939: reprinted London, 1980) 639.

[84] Sanudo XXXII, coll. 270-1; XXXIII, coll. 67-8 (Brussels, 5 March 1522); XXXIV, coll. 356-8 (Valladolid, 10 July 1523); XXXVI, coll. 543-4.

[85] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, col. 71 (Brussels, 5 March 1522).

Both in the earlier and later parts of this study there has been an effort to establish the networks which operated through which ideas could be very freely circulated. In some sense, this study is a history of intellectuals, as well as an intellectual history. By studying the fortunes of the *De magistratibus*, it will be possible to guage the impact of the text upon its earliest readers, and thereby to revise the historical view of both that text and its author.[86]

ii. The fortunes

The first surviving reference to the *De magistratibus* is contained in a letter from the humanist Bishop of Carpentras, Jacopo Sadoleto, to Reginald Pole (Henry VIII's cousin) in Padua on 23 November 1534. In it, Sadoleto praised: 'the virtue of his [Contarini's] mind...and the fame of his outstanding learning'. He noted that on his trip to Marseilles from Carpentras that year:

> ...I longed to read the book composed by him in which the conditions of the best city are seriously and learnedly discussed. When I left Marseilles with [Vettore] Soranzo, a man of outstanding talent and nobility, he promised to attend to this [and] send an example to me at the first opportunity. [However,] it seems to have slipped his mind.

He therefore asked Pole to do him this service in Soranzo's stead.[87] Sadoleto was referring here to the meeting he had with Soranzo in October-November 1533. Soranzo travelled to Marseilles in his capacity as *cameriere segreto* in September 1533.[88] In the following month Clement VII met Charles V there, and Sadoleto made a rare trip to Marseilles to meet the pope.[89] It seems unlikely that Sadoleto, who had lived in France since 1527, first came to know about Contarini's manuscript work through Soranzo who had been in Rome since 1529 and who did not return to Padua until the beginning of 1535.[90] However, Soranzo was one of Pietro Bembo's protégés and may have heard of the work from him, and certainly seems to have been instrumental in obtaining a transcription of the original from Contarini by April 1535.[91]

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[86] I have been influenced in this approach by Burke (1995).

[87] 'animi virtute et...eximiae eruditionis fama'; '...librum confectum ab eo, in quo de optimo civitatis statu graviter et docte disseratur, eum librum cupere vehementer me legere. Quod Superantius, homo ingenio et nobilitate praestans, cum discederemus Massilia, pollicitus fuit mihi se curaturum, ut exemplum ad me primo quoque tempore mitteretur, eum ego oblitum arbitror'. *Iacobi Sadoleti...Epistolarum Libri Sexdecim* (Cologne, 1554) 353. An erroneous transcription of this letter is given in Franz Dittrich, *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542)* (Braunsberg, 1881) 75, no.251.

[88] *Lettere* III, no.1527.

[89] Richard Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoleto, 1477-1547: humanist and reformer.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) 69.

[90] *Lettere* III, no.1662 (31 January 1535).

[91] *Ibid.* no.1083 (18 April 1530) Bembo praises Soranzo. See also *ibid. passim.* for Bembo-Soranzo correspondence during 1530-36.

Reginald Pole's second visit to Venice had certainly helped the circulation of manuscripts among a group of intellectuals. He had visited Sadoleto in 1532 and took his manuscript of *De liberis recte instituendis* with him to Venice where he passed it on to Pietro Bembo.[92] Contarini may have been stimulated to polish his own work and show it to a noble foreign visitor such as Pole after his arrival in October 1532. Pole and Contarini had spiritual interests in common[93], and in September 1534 Pole wrote to Sadoleto with praise of Gian Pietro Carafa ('vir sanctissimus') and Contarini, whom he intended to join in Venice.[94] By April 1535 Pole was often at Contarini's palace in Venice[95], and later the same year Contarini and Matteo Dandolo (his brother-in-law) were at Pole's house 'continually after dinner, and [they] walked with [Pole]...'[96] Pole may therefore have mentioned Sadoleto's request for the work to Contarini during the winter of 1534-35.

In the Spring of 1535, Bembo passed on to Contarini Sadoleto's congratulations on the occasion of his elevation to the cardinalate. At the same time he wrote to Sadoleto that he would forward a letter of Soranzo together with the transcription of Contarini's work on the Venetian Republic in five books which Contarini had ordered to be transcribed.[97] Sadoleto had also written to Bembo on 23 November 1534 requesting to see a copy of Bembo's draft history of Venice. Bembo sent it to him for correction.[98] When Sadoleto finally wrote to Contarini himself in November, 1535 he noted:

> When I received your Republic from Soranzo: I understood for the first time, how much you did for me...You will understand my judgement of your Republic from what I have written to Paolo [Sadoleto].[99]

In this and their subsequent correspondence Sadoleto was more concerned to secure Contarini's support in his appeal against the prohibition of his commentaries on St Paul. In the letter which Contarini wrote to Sadoleto in December, 1535 there is no mention of the work on the Venetian Republic.[100]

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[92] *Ibid.* no.1421.
[93] On Pole and the 'spirituali' see Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy. Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation.* (Cambridge, 1972) ch.2.
[94] Dittrich (1881) no.75.
[95] 'apud Contarenum frequens...' *Lettere* III, no.1678 (22 April 1535) Bembo to Jacopo Sadoleto.
[96] *Letter Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII,* (ed.) James Gairdner 21 vols., (London, 1886) IX, no. 512 (1 October 1535) Bernardino Sandro to Thomas Starkey.
[97] 'Cum his erunt litteris Superantii litterae ad te, et Contareni de nostra republica libri quinque, quos tibi is [i.e. Contarini] describi iussit'. *Lettere* III, no.1678 (22 April 1535).
[98] *Ibid.* no.1655 (9 January 1535).
[99] 'Ego cum tuam Rempub. a Superantio accepi : cognovi tum primum, quanti tu me faceres...' ; 'De tua Republica quid sentiam, scripseram iam ad Paulum, ex quo iudicium meum potes cognovisse'. Sadoleto (1554) 399, 400. The relevant letter to Paolo Sadoleto does not seem to have been printed.
[100] *Ibid.* 401-15. Douglas (1957) 89-90.

It is possible to establish that the work circulated quite widely before its publication since there are in existence ten sixteenth-century manuscripts of the work in European libraries.[101] The work seems to have been in quite wide circulation by the beginning of 1535, and it is possible that the transcription of the work made for Sadoleto during the winter of 1534-35 was one of several. At the end of March 1535 the German humanist Julius Pflug wrote from Mainz to Benedetto Ramberti, secretary to the Venetian Republic, to thank him for Contarini's book, which had delighted him.[102] Pflug had visited Venice in 1527 and 1529, and he was well-acquainted with Venetian humanists like Lazzaro Bonamico whose appointment to a post at the University of Padua in 1530 was urged by Contarini. Ramberti himself accompanied Niccolò Tiepolo, one of Contarini's oldest friends, on his missions in Germany during 1530-32.[103] Ramberti could have obtained a manuscript of the work either from Contarini himself whom he would have met in the course of government business, or by means of Bonamico who was living with Pole at this time.[104]

There is further support for the idea that the manuscript was circulating by 1535 since sometime after Contarini's appointment as cardinal in that year Michele Barozzi wrote in praise of his efforts for peace, and of his patriotism which was reflected in his book on Venice.[105] A poem by Marc'Antonio Flaminio (who certainly knew Contarini by 1527[106]) which has hitherto escaped notice is entitled 'De Gaspare Contareno' and runs:

> The best state of a city was intricately and lengthily described by Plato in that work [on the Republic]; although this city has not been seen since the beginning of time, nor ever will be. But Contarini has demonstrated what is the best republic in the arguments of his small book, [and] it is perceived to

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[101] Ten sixteenth-century manuscripts of the work are listed by Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* 9 vols., (Leiden, 1963-90) I, 86, 435; II, 230, 343, 481, 506; III, 205, 240 (three mss). Gleason (1993) 111, n.145 seems to imply that BNF, Cod. Magliab., cl. XXX, N.146, ff.1r-78r is the only or original manuscript of the work.

[102] '...accepisse librum Contarenj et eius lectione mirifice delectari. Ea namque legens, quae Rempublicam vestram continent, videor mihi istuc nescio quomodo reductus esse et frui vobiscum ijs rebus, quae mihi videntur praeclarissimae esse'. Julius Pflug, *Correspondance*, (ed.) J V. Pollet, (Leiden, 1969) I, 354.

[103] *Ibid.* 59-64, 312.

[104] Gairdner (1886) IX, no. 512.

[105] This unpublished ms 'Oratio in laudem Gaspari Contareni' is in BCV, Ms. Cicogna 2903 and is noted by Felix Gilbert, 'Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini', in Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (eds.) *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: essays in memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, N.J., 1969) 90-116: 115, n.85.

[106] In the dedication to Paolo Giustiniani of his *Primae philosophiae compendium* dated 30 August 1527 Contarini noted that he had received Giustiniani's letter to Marc' Antonio Flaminio: 'iuvenem elegantissimum'. *Opera* 93.

have flourished in the Adriatic Sea for more than a thousand years in peace and wealth, and literary success.[107]

This unimpressive verse has been dated to the period 1528-38 by Flaminio's biographer.[108] A letter of Pietro Bembo mentioned: 'un libretto di M.Gasparo Contarini' in 1528, but it is impossible to say whether Bembo is referring to the *De magistratibus*, although, as one of Contarini's oldest friends he probably saw the manuscript in its early stages.[109]

Professor Elisabeth Gleason has remarked that 'no consensus has emerged concerning its ultimate intent or the readers for whom it was intended'. She argues that Contarini's intended audience consisted of educated foreigners and his 'own class', and that he wished to enhance the role of the Ten in the machinery of Venetian government.[110] Contarini's treatise on Venice was put into circulation fairly quickly after its final revision. If Contarini intended its initial audience to be drawn from among his friends, the work soon passed into the hands of men such as Julius Pflug. There is no doubt that it advocated various governmental reforms on the basis of the need to improve patrician behaviour, and to preserve the Republic. However, there is no evidence in the book for Professor Gleason's assertion that Contarini placed particular stress on the need for a powerful Council of Ten. His lengthy discussion of that body is fairly conventional. Taken as a whole, the work emphasizes the preeminent place of the patricians in the entire body of the state. It may be more instructive as to his purpose and thinking in composing the *De magistratibus* to consider the network of friends who first read it, and their own republicanism.[111] Her remarks about the intended audience for the book are certainly supported by such a study, and the actual audience of the book in the sixteenth century can be fairly easily established.

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[107] 'Descripsit ille maximus quondam Plato/Longis suorum ambagibus voluminum,/Quis civitatis optimus foret status,/Sed hunc ab ipsa saeculorum origine/Nec ulla vidit, nec videbit civitas./At Contarenus optimam rempublicam/Parvi libelli disputationibus/Illam probavit esse, plus millesima/Quam cernit aestas Adriatico in mari/Florere pace, litteris, pecunia'. *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum...*(Lorenzo Torrentino: Florence, 1552) Lib. I, 143. Note also the poem 'De Hieronymo Savonarola' *ibid.* 228-29.

[108] Carol Maddison, *Marcantonio Flaminio: poet, humanist and reformer* (London, 1965) 92, n.12.

[109] Pietro Bembo mentions 'un libretto di M.Gasparo Contarini' in a letter to his son in November, 1528. It is impossible to say whether this was the *De magistratibus* but it is interesting to note that he had given it to his son to give to 'M. Niccolò Dolfino' to whom Giannotti had read the draft of his book on Venice in 1525-26 and 1527, and with whom Contarini was well acquainted. *Lettere* II, no.915 (Letter dated 20 November 1528, probably from Padua). On Giannotti and Dolfin see Luigi A. Ferrai, 'Lettere inedite di Donato Giannotti', *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, ser. VI, vol. III, part II (1884-85) 1567-96: 1581.

[110] Gleason (1993) 111, 125. She discusses the work in *ibid.*, 110-28.

[111] See below, chs. 8 & 9.

As far as the publication of *De magistratibus* and its impact are concerned, the great success which it enjoyed in Tudor and Stuart England, and eighteenth-century America must be distinguished from the assessment of its immediate fortunes in sixteenth-century Europe and Italy.[112] There were seventeen editions of *De magistratibus* published in Latin (7), Italian (6), French (3), and English (1) between 1543 and 1599, as well as three editions of the *Opera* between 1571 and 1589.[113] The heaviest concentration of editions was in the first decade of publication when nine editions appeared. This is comparable with the eight (admittedly only Venetian) editions of Francesco Sansovino's *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia* between 1556 and 1570. However, Contarini's work compares poorly with the runaway success of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528) which clearly had a wider appeal and went through ninety-six editions in its first fifty years of publication.[114]

However, the closest rival of *De magistratibus* was Donato Giannotti's *Libro de la republica de' Vinitiani* (as it was titled when first published in Rome in 1540), and it managed only eight editions in Italian and German throughout the century.[115] One of the reasons for the relative appeal of Contarini's work may be discerned from the translation into French (the second) of the 1557 and 1558 Lyons editions: *La police et gouvernement de la republique de Venise, exemplaire pour le jourd'huy a toutes autres, tant pour le regime des habitans que estrangers, livre fort utile & necessaire à tous amateurs du bien public...* Similarly, the exemplary aspect of the work was emphasized by the Venice Latin edition of 1592: *Gasparis Contareni Cardinalis, de magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri quinque, quibus de Romanorum et Venetorum magistratuum inter se comparatione Guerini Pisonis Soacii.* As republicanism in Italy lost its residual vigour after the 1530's, Contarini's work was probably valued in Italy and France above all for its exemplary function.

The *editio princeps* was published in Paris in 1543 by Michel Vascosan. The verso of the title-page gives Vascosan the privilege of printing the work for three years and is dated 9 November 1543. Vascosan was a good Latinist who wrote dedications and

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[112] Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (Evanston, Ill., 1945) ch.2; J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975).

[113] *Index Aurelienensis Catalogus librorum Sedecimo Saeculo impressorum* (Baden-Baden, 1962-) IX, 406-11 only lists sixteen. The 1558 edition which this catalogue omits is cited by J. Baudrier as being in his own collection: *id. Bibliographie Lyonnaise.* ser.3 (Lyons and Paris, 1897) 203.

[114] Burke (1995) Appendix 1. Unfortunately I am not yet in a position to construct a list of the readers of the *De magistratibus* before, say, 1600, as Professor Burke has done for *The Courtier*: *ibid.* appendix 2. However, see below, n. 144.

[115] 1540 (2), 1542 (2), 1557 (1 in German), 1564 (1 with Contarini's work), 1570 (1), 1574 (1 in German).

made corrections in that language.[116] His editions were known for the high quality of their production and for the clarity of their typography. He began publishing in 1532 and later became printer to the king of France. In 1543 he published fourteen other works (a higher number than average and the beginning of a more active decade of printing), which were largely classical Roman works. In 1541 he had published Guillaume Postel's *De magistratibus Athienensis*, and later published Bembo's *Gli Asolani* (1545), and the *editio princeps* of the same author's *Historia Veneta* (1551).[117] Some indication of the immediate interest in Contarini's book is given by the appearance of a French translation and dedication to Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France by Jean Charrier two-and-a-half months later.[118] Probably associated with this translation was the manuscript of the work presented to Constable Montmorency.[119]

Jean Charrier was described on the title-page as secretary to one of the king's privy councillors and president of the Parlement of Paris. He has also been described as general advocate to the Parlement of Provence. He also translated Machiavelli's *L'arte della guerra* in 1546.[120] Charrier's dedication to Montmorency traced the 'revolution' of nature and men, the rise and fall of empires and republics, and noted that the wheel of fortune could be arrested by reason. He observed that Venice was a contemporary example of a republic which had been founded with prudence and from which all causes of envy, discord, and ambition, which brought down powerful monarchies and republics from the Persians onwards, had been excluded. Venice had defended itself against its enemies for almost 1100 years and had preserved itself with 'bonnes, & sainctes loix'. Therefore, although Venice was a republic, and therefore repugnant to the French monarchy, he presented this translation because:

> ...we may greatly instruct and reform ourselves by the comparison with such a model, particularly as it concerns the wise conduct of affairs, [and] give order to government. As well as the love and charity of the Venetians towards their country, their unity and agreement to increase and maintain the common weal causes their republic to flourish. In the same way, we love our prince and king in charity and obedience; and with one accord we serve and defend him so that he may reign prosperously and victoriously.[121]

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[116] Georges Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France. Sér. Parisienne.* (Paris, 1911) I, 515.

[117] Michael Maittaire, *Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensum Vitas et Libros complectens* (London, 1717) II, 22-41.

[118] Gasparo Contarini, *Des magistratz, & republique de Venise...* (Galiot du Pré: Paris, 1544). The date 26 February 1543 is given on the title-page verso.

[119] It is described in *Livres du Connétable. La bibliothèque d' Anne de Montmorency* (Musée national de la Renaissance, château d'Ecouen. Musée Condé château de Chantilly, 1991) 51, no.40.

[120] Monsig. Georges Grente (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises. Le XVIè siècle.* (Paris, 1951).

[121] '...nous peult grandement instruire, & reformer pour la conference d'un tel exemple. c'est quant à la sage conduicte des affaires, donner ordre à la police, & que tout ainsi que l'amour, & charité des Venetiens envers leur pays, l'union, & accord d'augmenter, & maintenir le bien public faict flourir leur

He presented his work to the Constable in confirmation of the latter's abilities rather than in an attempt to improve them. However, as a member of the Parisian Parlement, Charrier may have been seeking to emphasize the 'mixed' nature of the Venetian polity as a way of enhancing the Parlement's power. In his epigram to the reader Charrier compared the harmonious composition of the Senate and people of Venice to a well-proportioned body, an image of which Contarini himself made much use. In another epigram he noted that the reader had no need to go to Venice to observe its laws and customs: 'Since if you read (as I advise you to do) this marvellous book, without taking any other pain, you may see Venice from your home.'[122] The table of contents indicated a number of additions made to the text by the translator as well as extracts from the *Enneads* of Sabellico and from the work of Pomponius Julius Laetus (author of *De Romanorum magistratibus*). The right to print the work was granted to Du Pré for six years but it was reissued only at Lyons in 1557 and 1558 with an appended list of Venetian doges.[123] An extensive discussion of the work is to be found in Jean Bodin's *Six livres de la république* (Paris, 1583) where he included Contarini among those who had principally used the ancient theory of mixed polities and diffused it in the modern world. However, he was rather critical of Contarini's propositions.[124]

There is little evidence for the book's reception in Italy, until Girolamo Garimberto mentioned it in passing in 1568.[125] Contarini himself appeared in two dialogues composed during his lifetime, but there was no mention of the *De magistratibus* in either of them.[126] Pietro Aretino extolled Contarini in his *La Cortigiana* (1534) as the

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Republique, de mesme facon, que nostre amour, charité, & obeissance envers nostre Prince, & Roy, l'union, & l'accord de le servir, & defendre le face regner prospere, & victorieux'. Contarini (1544a) sig.Aiiiir.

122 'Car si tu lis (comme ie t'en advise)/Ce beau livret, sans aultre peine avoir,/De ta maison tu pourras veoir Venise.' *ibid.* unpaginated.

123 Gasparo Contarini, *La Police et Gouvernement de la Republique de Venise* (Benoist Rigaud & Ian Saugrain: Lyons, 1557). The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France was not available and I therefore follow the description given in Baudrier (1897) 175.

124 Jean Bodin, *Six livres de la république* (Paris, 1583) II,i, 253, 258, 260-63.

125 Girolamo Garimberto, *La prima parte delle vite, overo fatti memorabili d'alcuni papi, et di tutti i cardinali passati* (G. Gioliti de' Ferrari: Venice, 1568) 175. His interest in the work may have been derived from his also being the author of *De' Regimenti publici de la Città* (Scotto: Venice, 1544). Here, Venice is compared with Rome as it has maintained its 'libertà' for 1200 years by means of well-ordered and observed laws: f.IIv. Venice is an excellent government of one, few, and the many: f.XVIr. Venice is a mixture of 'ricchi poveri e liberi': f.XXIXr. He notes the freedom strangers enjoy there: f.XXIXv; and the jealousy aroused in Venice by the concentration of power in the hands of the patricians: f.XXXVIIIv.

126 The dialogues were by Sperone Speroni, *Dialogo della vita attiva e contemplativa* (ca.1540) which was set in the house of Contarini at Bologna in 1529. His *Dialogo della Retorica* was also set in Contarini's house. Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, *De litteratorum infelicitate* (occasionally entitled 'Contarini') (Composed ca. 1536; published Venice, 1620) featured Contarini as an interlocutor, and was set in Rome in January, 1529. Both men were acquainted with Contarini. He ordained Valeriano in Belluno in 1538: Paolo Pellegrini e Francesco Piovan, 'Nuovi Contributi per la biografia di Pierio Valeriano', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* XXXVII (1994) 251-81: 265 n.49. There are a number of

'sun and life of philosophy, Greek and Latin studies, and a mirror of goodness and manners...'[127] In Paduan and Venetian circles at least, Contarini was probably first best known for his treatise on the immortality of the soul, as a letter of July 1528 suggests.[128] His funerary monument (ca. 1563) in the Contarini Chapel in the church of Madonna Dell'Orto simply records that his writings and deeds testify to his integrity, learning, and eloquence. Shortly after his death Antonio Eparchos published a Greek epitaph on Contarini[129], and his biographer simply wrote ca. 1558 that his book on Venice was written 'with perfect order and reasoning'.[130]

The first Italian translation of the book was made by 'Eranchirio Anditimi' and was published in Venice in October, 1544.[131] Anditimi, who is identifiable with Ludovico Domenichi who was just beginning his prolific editing career in Venice at this time[132], addressed the University of Eboli:

> Because Venice has perhaps a humbler and weaker prince than ours, and nevertheless has succeeded to that greatness which is now seen. Its miraculous situation has helped it more than any other city in the world, and also its laws and good statutes which are applied here...[133]

Domenichi also published translations of works by Polybius and Bernardo Giustiniani, and overall maintained a high volume of output of the most popular works until the mid-1560's. This trend is in line with the general rise in total output of books in Venice until 1560. On average between thirty and forty books were printed in Venice annually between 1545 and 1570. In addition, the number of published works of contemporary

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difficulties ascribing any of the views expressed by the *persona* of Contarini in these works to Contarini himself. On this see Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: literary dialogue in its social and political contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1992).

127 '...sole e vita de la filosofia e degli studi greci e latini, e specchio de la bontà e de i costumi...' Pietro Aretino, *Scritti scelti* (ed.) G. G. Ferrero (Turin, 1970) 154. The cabbalist Francesco Zorzi is praised in the same breath: 153.

128 The letter from Ercole Gonzaga (a friend of Contarini's by the 1530's), Cardinal of Mantua to Niccolò Leonico mentions Contarini's treatise as an example of a work printed against the author's wish: F. A. Gasquet, *Cardinal Pole and His Early Friends* (London, 1927) 99.

129 *Antonii Eparchi in eversionem Graeciae Deploratio...Eiusdem Epitaphium in Cardinalem Contarenum, praestantissimi consilii virum* (Venice, 1544) sigs. γv- ηr, η[iiii]v.

130 '...con molto bell' ordine, et ragioni'. Ludovico Beccadelli, *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dal manoscritti di Monsignor Ludovico Beccadelli*, (ed.) Giambattista Morandi, 2 vols., (Bologna, 1797-1804; facsimile edition Farnborough, 1967) I, part 2, 57. A copy of *La Republica, et Magistrati di Vinegia, Di M. Gasparo Contarino nuovamente fatti volgari...* (Girolamo Scotto: Venice, 1544) inscribed on the titlepage 'jo: Delphini - ' in a mid-sixteenth century hand is found in BLO, pressmark 246.g.114 (1). This may have belonged to Giovanni Dolfin (1529-84), or to his homonym (1545-1622). See *DBI* 40: 511-32.

131 Contarini (1544b).

132 Claudia di Filippo Bareggi, *Il Mestiere di Scrivere. Lavoro Intellettuale e Mercato Librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 1988) 22-26, 70, 104-05 nn.131-32, 71.

133 'Perché Vinegia hebbe forse piu basso, et debile principio, che hora non è il nostro, & non di meno è pervenuta à quella grandezza, che si vede. Egli è il vero, che à quella è stata sopra ogni altra Città del mondo d'aiuto il suo miracoloso sito, ma forse non meno gli ordini, & statuti buoni, che ivi si sono tenuti...' Contarini (1544b) Unpaginated preface dated 29 October 1544.

history and treatises peaked in 1545, 1556, 1560, 1565, and 1570.[134] During the period 1531-45 the readership and expansion of vernacular editions is notable, reaching a peak in 1551-75.[135] Presumably Contarini reached a fairly wide audience in Venice itself and the Italian translation was issued by Baldo Sabini in 1545 and 1548 (with Anditimi's 1544 introduction). Sabini's 1551 edition included a preface to Cardinal Tornone by one Giorgio Tatti. In it he noted the 'grandezza' of its people, the 'frequenza' of its many nobles, and the divine laws which guided and governed such a remarkable republic. Tatti thought that the book would allow the cardinal to judge the difference between 'honesta libertà' and 'non regolato Tirannide'. He continued by noting the majesty and order with which the first founders of Venice had made the city a terrestrial paradise unsurpassed in beauty and order. Truly, it was a mortal sin not to see or know of these things.[136]

Editions were published in Basel by Froben in January, 1544 and 1547 with a prefatory epigram in praise of Venetian empire and laws[137], and a dedication by Sigismund Gelenius. He celebrated Contarini 'as he is always famed' for his birth, riches, prudence, and contribution to literature. He went on to note that Contarini had excited the hopes of those Christian republics who desired tranquillity. Their lack of success in this matter arose not from the malign action of fate, as some supposed, but from those people who tested nothing unless they themselves did it.[138] Nevertheless, Contarini's work offered an outstanding example for those in power (like his dedicatee) of a mixed republic not before described by wise writers.[139] In 1545, extracts from this dedication were reprinted in a work of universal bibliography.[140] Three years later Contarini's work was also listed among those books on the history of Venice by Giustiniani, Sabellico, Flavio Biondo, and Pier Paolo Vergerio.[141]

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[134] Di Filippo Bareggi (1988) 105 n.132, 71, 362 grafico 15, grafico 21, grafico 22.

[135] Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. The editors and the vernacular text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge, 1994) chs. 7 & 8.

[136] *La Republica, E* [sic] *I magistrati di Vinegia. Di M. Gasparo Contarino...*(Baldo Sabini: Venice, 1551) 3-4.

[137] 'Ad lectorem C. Nucillani Carmen./Magnificos opibus Venetos belloque potentes,/Hic liber exiguus candide lector habet./Hos vada coeruli concludunt undique ponti,/Ulla haud quo valeat densa nocere phalanx./Extendere suum tam latis finibus ingens/Imperium, favit Mars ferus ille viris./Consiliis sanis hi tanta trophaea tulerunt,/Ut feriat summum sydera celsa decus./Quis bonus ordo tam claros afflarit honores,/Hic liber exiguus lector amice docet'. *Casparis Contareni Patricii Veneti, De magistratibus, & repub. Venetorum libri quinque...*(Froben: Basel, 1547) f.2v.

[138] '...magnamque de se spem concitaverat apud quotquot reipublicae Christianae tranquillitati consultum cupiunt: eique satisfacturus videbatur, modo licuisset non per fatorum malignitatem, ut isti loquuntur, sed per quosdam qui nihil probant nisi quod ipsi faciunt, quum tamen nihil unquam boni faciant'. *Ibid.* 3.

[139] *Ibid.* 5.

[140] Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis...* (Apud Christophorum Franchoverum: Zurich, September, 1545) ff.265r-v.

[141] Conrad Gesner, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium...libri XXI...* (Christophorus Froschoverus: Zurich, 1548) bk.XII, tit.IIII, f.134v.

The work was certainly known in England before 1558,[142] and it was translated into English with an extensive 'paratext' by Lewis Lewkenor (d.1627), a member of parliament (1597, 1604) and ex-soldier, in 1599.[143] It has recently been noted that the constitution of Venice was given renewed attention in England during the 1590's (and a cursory examination of private libraries supports this view).[144] Venice was particularly interesting to the circles of Essex and Leicester which favoured a militant anti-Habsburg, anti-Spanish, and anti-absolutist foreign policy. While they did not wish to imitate Venetian republicanism they at least drew on its example of political independence of Spain in Europe as well as on the constitutional curbs placed on the doge to support their arguments. The philo-Venetian sentiments contained in Lewkenor's preface have been analysed and placed in the specific context of English politics at this time.[145]

However, as these studies note, there had also been some English interest in the Venetian constitution during the 1570's and this interest probably continued

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[142] Among the books recorded in the 1558 probate inventory of William Brown of Merton College, Oxford is 'gasparus de magistratibus et re publica'. R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England.* 3 vols., (Binghampton and Marlborough, 1994) III, 33, no.67.208.

[143] See *Contarini.* The translation is on the whole a faithful one, even though rather inclined in its vocabulary to lend the work a self-satisfied tone. However, I follow it with reference to the Latin original. David McPherson, 'Lewkenor's Venice and Its Sources', *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988) 459-66 briefly analyses the paratext and its debt to Giannotti and Bernardo Giustiniani's works on Venice, as well as Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis* and Francesco Sansovino's *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia.* Surprisingly, he considers neither the importance of Edmund Spenser's poem in praise of Venice, nor the possible literary and political significance of Lewkenor's dedication of the work (dated 13 August 1598) to Anne Dudley (née Russell), Countess of Warwick (d. 1604) and widow of Ambrose Dudley. Anne was one of Spenser's patrons and a powerful courtier. Nor does he note Lewkenor's translations from Spanish of Antonio de Torquemada, *The Spanish Mandevile of miracles* (London, 1600) and Olivier de La Marche, *The resolved gentleman* (London, 1594) (A translation of a Spanish translation of the French original). Note also Samuel Lewkenor, *A discourse...for such as are desirous to know of forraine cities* (London, 1600).

[144] A study of Italian books in England has not found any reference to Contarini's work in Renaissance English libraries, although Giannotti's work is mentioned twice. John L. Lievsay, *The Englishman's Italian Books, 1550-1700.* (Philadelphia, 1969). Sir Philip Sidney offered to send copies of both Contarini's and Giannotti's works to a friend, from Venice in December, 1573. *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney.* (ed.) A. Feuillerat. 4 vols., (Cambridge, 1912-26) III, 81. Five years later Sidney excepted Venice from his condemnation of the laws and political systems of Italy: *ibid.* 127. Copies of Contarini's book did belong to Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-91) Lord Chancellor, friend of Sidney, and patron of Spenser: OBL Holkham f.233 (2); to William Bill (d.1561) Dean of Westminster: OBL, 8°C98. Provenance is suggested by the coincidence of the binding and initials 'WB' with the work in M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift, a Collection of Bookbindings* (London, 1983) II, no.36; to the Earl of Arundel and John, Lord Lumley (c.1534-1609): S. Jayne and F. R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library* (London, 1956) 146, no.1169; to William Tresham (with Giannotti) : BL Additional Mss 39, 830 (Tresham papers vol.III) f.183r; and to Robert Burton (1577-1640) Fellow of Christ Church, Oxford: Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford, 1988) 74, no.382.
I omit here the evidence which I have found of the possession of other books on Venice.

[145] Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1995) 102-18 ignores the significance of the paratext as well as the dedication. David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London, 1984) 126-32 does consider in passing the significance of the poems of commendation 'by members of the Essex circle', and notes the dedication to Leicester's sister-in-law: 309, n.51.

uninterrupted (although not unchallenged) from that time until Lewkenor undertook his translation.[146] While one of these studies notes that Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick (the dedicatee of Lewkenor's work) was the sister-in-law of Leicester, they both fail to note that she was daughter of Francis Russell, earl of Bedford who was in Venice, Rome, and Naples from June 1555 until May 1557. He had a large collection of Latin and Italian books and was tutored by Pietro Bizzarri, the Venetian-Paduan poet and Protestant refugee in Cambridge. His second wife was Sir Richard Morison's widow. Thus she was connected with those families who sought refuge from Marian persecution in Venice and France from 1554.[147] This fact, as well as her extensive literary patronage, may explain the significance of Lewkenor's dedication of this work to her.[148] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Contarini's book seems to have become the indispensable guidebook for those visiting Venice, or who affected to be an 'inglese italianato'. In Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1605), Sir Politic Would-be (obviously a portrait of the English diplomat in Venice, Sir Henry Wotton) boasts: 'I now have lived here [in Venice] 'tis some fourteen months, within the first week of my landing here all took me for a citizen of Venice, I knew all the forms so well...I had read Contarene...' (*Volpone* IV, i, lines 36-41).

Before examining the classical sources of Contarini's work it is worth noting the Venetian tradition of political writing which arose during the middle ages. Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder's *De republica Veneta* (ca. 1390-1400) asserted that Venice was a polyarchy. From the middle of the fourteenth century Venetian writers sought to justify imperial expansion and elaborated the idea of Venice as a place of refuge and protection, as well as 'libertà', and justice. Lorenzo de Monacis (1388-1428) in his *De gestis, moribus et nobilitate civitatis Venetarum* (1421-28) associated Venetian freedom from civil discord with the city's providential purpose.[149] Therefore, during the fifteenth

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[146] Venice is cited by John Barston, *Safegarde of Societie...*(London, 1576) ff.61v-62r (Venice preserves its freedom by restricting influx of foreigners), ff.15r-19r (Venetian aristocratic government unsuccessful and currently unstable); Thomas Procter, *Of the Knowledge of warres...* (n.p., 1578) ff.35r-v (employment of mercenaries the only serious shortcoming of the otherwise excellent Venice); Richard Beacon, *Solon his follie...*(Oxford, 1594) 23-4 (Venetian and Spartan examples of limits imposed on chief magistrates), 80-81 (Venetian balance of few, i.e. Ten with many i.e. Forty and Great Council), 63 (Venice's fortified situation); Louis Le Roy, *Of the interchangeable course: or variety of things in the whole world.* trans. Robert Ashley (London, 1594) f.121v (Venice's mixed constitution close to ancient Rome's. Venice durable and conducive to good and happy life); John Smythe, *Instructions, observations, and orders mylitarie* (London, 1595) 214-15 (no rebellions in Venice as justice and equality are maintained) All of these passages are cited by Peltonen (1995) *passim.* William Shakespeare's imaginary Venice is, of course, very well known. His (and Ben Jonson's) debt to Lewkenor's Contarini is examined by David C. McPherson, *Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Myth of Venice* (Newark, Del., London, and Toronto, 1990).

[147] Kenneth R. Bartlett, *The English in Italy 1525-58. A study in culture and politics* (Geneva, 1991) 95-6, 127, 218, 219; Christina Hallowell Garett, *The Marian Exiles: a study in the origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938) 275-7, 229-31.

[148] On Jacobean women's literary and political patronage see Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1993).

[149] Franco Gaeta, 'L'idea di Venezia'. *SCV* 3/III, 565-641.

century the themes of supremacy of law, patrician rule, and 'mixed' government, which reappear in Contarini's work, were associated with Venice.[150]

One of the more interesting of these Venetian writers was the humanist Giovanni Caldiera who composed a trilogy of moral philosophical works (1473), the third part of which concluded with a survey of Venetian government councils, and a eulogy of the institution of the dogado.[151] The work idealized Venice which, he asserted, had achieved perfection by an alliance of Christian and republican values and he asserted that the cardinal virtues were embodied in Venice. He noted in this regard, just as Contarini did, that the *scuole* bound men to each other in love and promoted republican stability. Unlike Contarini, he described the Doge as being superior to the law because of his outstanding virtues. Nevertheless, he argued that government in Venice could proceed by consensus and consultation. He described how empires, kingdoms, princes, cities, armies, homes, and men were subject to the stars. He outlined a cycle of beginning, growth, and decline which he illustrated with reference to Babylon, Athens, and Rome. However, he argued that Venetian institutions were so framed as to allow Venice to endure, and even to excel throughout the earth offering wisdom and assistance.[152]

Lauro Quirini's *De nobilitate* (ca. 1449) defended the idea of noble lineage.[153] His hierarchical concept, particularly where he posited gradations of excellence between and within species, was very close to Contarini's. He noted that the Venetian nobles were direct descendants of the Romans who fled from Attila to the lagoons. He suggested that Roman liberty was thus preserved in Venice, and that concord within the city had lasted for more than one thousand years. His *De republica* (ca. 1449-50) presented aristocracy as the best form of government and he consciously and explicitly followed and adapted Aristotle's *Politics* for that purpose. In its imitation of most of the proposals of the *Politics* and its Aristotelian metaphysics it therefore resembled *De magistratibus*. However, unlike Contarini's work, it did not give a description of the public offices of the city.

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150 Angelo Ventura, 'Scrittori politici e Scritture di governo'. *SCV* 3/III, 513-63.

151 Giovanni Caldiera, *De virtutibus moralibus et theologicis libri octo...De oeconomia veneta libri duo...De praestantia venetae politiae, et artibus in eadem excultis tam mechanicis quam liberalibus de virtutibus quae maxime reipublica veneta debentur, libri 5...* BLO, Lib. Cod. Laud. Misc. 717, ff. 101r-148v.

152 *Ibid.* ff.141v-48v.

153 This work survives in a couple of manuscripts, and has been printed in K. Krautter, P. O. Kristeller, A. Pertusi *et al.*, (eds.) *Lauro Quirini umanista* (Florence, 1977). For what follows I am indebted to Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

Paolo Morosini's *De rebus ac forma reipublicae venetae* (ca. 1470?) perhaps comes closest to being an intellectual predecessor to Contarini's work. Morosini's book was written in response to the inquiries of the German jurist and humanist Gregor Heimburg. Morosini wrote that he wished to satisfy Heimburg's curiosity about how the Venetian empire had originated and flourished, and how it could be a republic and monarchy at one and the same time. Venice, he wrote (as Contarini would), acquired new lands at the request of the oppressed who sought its milder domination. In addition, its governmental structures revealed its devotion to justice. Morosini went on to describe the Doge, Great Council, counsellors and sages, *avogadori*, members of the Councils of Ten and Forty, the Grand Chancellor, the Senate, and many lesser offices. This short work was certainly utilized by Domenico Morosini in his *De bene instituta re publica* (ca.1497-1509), although Venice was never identified as the ideal republic despite frequent allusions to Venetian circumstances. Morosini's work was also at odds with Contarini's in its pacifist and anti-expansionist viewpoint. Possibly for these reasons, and indeed because the manuscript was left unfinished and disordered on Morosini's death, Contarini did not draw upon it and felt justified in claiming that no-one had attempted before what he was to attempt in the *De magistratibus*.[154]

Since he was a close friend of Contarini it is worth noting that Vincenzo Querini's summary of Aristotelian theory published as *Conclusiones Romae disputatae* (n.p., n.d. but 1502) included a section entitled 'De civili institutione'. Much of what was summarized there was very similar, or identical, to Contarini's assertions about civil government and was overwhelmingly drawn from *The Politics*. Among other Aristotelian commonplaces, he asserted that one man could be named to govern; but when a few governed, civil society was said to have the best government. These men were called 'optimates'. Furthermore, tyrants who ruled a city for their own good ought to be expelled from civil society by the 'optimi cives'. However, it was better for a city to be governed by 'optima lege' than by a good man or by the best men. This work probably reflected the sort of grounding in Aristotelian and Thomist theory which Contarini had when he came to compose his work.

It is difficult to identify Contarini's debt to contemporary sources.[155] He may have known Pietro Marcello's *De vitis principum et gestis Venetorum compendium* (C. de Pensis: Venice, 1502) which was in Pietro Bembo's possession in 1529.[156] He may

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[154] For a comparative study of the two works see Innocenzo Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi dello stato veneziano* (Naples, 1974) 306-30.

[155] Felix Gilbert asserts without foundation: 'He [Contarini] mentions, e.g., Bernardo Giustiniani's *De origine urbis Venetiarum...*' Gilbert (1969) 112 n.76.

[156] *Lettere* III, no. 947 (15 April 1529) Interestingly enough Bembo writes to Giovanni Borgherini in Florence to ask for the return of the work. Borgherini was an interlocutor in Giannotti's book on

also have known Marcantonio Sabellico's work on Venice which Marcello had simply abridged. Both Contarini and Sabellico give the same list of *terraferma* towns devastated by Attila: Aquilea, Concordia, Altino, Uderzo, and Padua. It is less likely that he was particularly influenced by Pier Paolo Vergerio's (1498-1565) *De Republica Veneta* (1526), although the dialogue featured Pietro Bembo whom he knew at the time.[157] The work does celebrate the peace and strength brought to Venice by Doge Andrea Gritti and looks forward to an age of peace in Italy. However, Vergerio and his interlocutors were more concerned with the revival of ancient learning which this would allow, as well as with the related question of the Italian vernacular. The political reasons for Venetian superiority were only vaguely adduced.[158] Vergerio did assert that republics produced more expert and worthy rulers than monarchical empires, and therefore Venetian peace was likely to last longer than *pax Romana.* The colophon announced that Vergerio would soon bring out a book on Venetian laws and magistracies.[159]

More striking similarities exist between Contarini's work and the funeral oration for Doge Leonardo Loredan delivered in 1521 by Andrea Navagero. In this, Navagero argued that a principality was superior to aristocracy and democracy, but that one man might be corrupted by ambition and work against the common good. As the tyranny of the people could also destroy the state, Navagero concluded, the rule of the aristocracy was safest. Venice, he asserted, was a mixture of the best parts of all three. Election was popular, the Doge was sovereign, and the rest formed the aristocratic element. The office of Doge was not hereditary but for life (in contrast with the hereditary Spartan kingship) and the Doge was obliged to respect the laws.

Navagero declared that he could not pass over the war of the League of Cambrai in silence, but he did not wish to re-open old wounds so lately healed. He therefore fixed his attention on the outstanding conduct of Loredan and the nobles who formed his audience. The Republic had moderately extended its boundaries and had also been geared towards peace, yet almost all of Europe had joined to destroy Venice. Other states envied Venice's splendour and her position as an asylum of liberty, and wished to plunder it as Agnadello, which he could hardly bring himself to mention, had proved. However, he noted that now Padua had been defended by patrician youths and recovered, and Treviso had been strengthened. He cited the exemplarity of Loredan's

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Venice. In addition Bembo was an interlocutor in Pier Paolo Vergerio's *De republica Veneta liber primus* (Toscolano: Paganini, 13 April 1526).

157 *Lettere* II, no.724 (10 December 1526).

158 Vergerio (1526) sig. Br.

159 Anne Jacobsen Schutte, *Pier Paolo Vergerio: the making of an Italian reformer* (Geneva, 1977) 38 supposes that this was a response to the contemporary works of Giannotti and Contarini. She does not think that Contarini and Vergerio were acquainted before the 1530's: *ibid.* 42.

conduct during this crisis and praised the King of France's aid to Venice.[160] Navagero's views could easily have been known to Contarini as Navagero was both a friend in Venice and a colleague in Spain where he succeeded Contarini as ambassador in 1525.[161]

It is easier to identify Contarini's classical sources as he refers directly to several of them in the text of *De magistratibus*. Besides his frequent references to Aristotle's *Politics* [162], he noted the *Nicomachean Ethics* [163], Xenophon's *Education of Cyrus* [164], Cicero's *In Verrem*[165], and Plato's *Timaeus*.[166] Furthermore, Contarini certainly began to read Plato's *Republic* in November 1513.[167] It is also clear from the text of *De magistratibus* that Contarini knew Plato's *Laws*. Contarini's biographer asserted extravagantly ca. 1558 that he: 'Knew by heart all the histories, Greek and Latin, ancient and modern'.[168]

This chapter has been careful to place the genesis of the *De magistratibus* in the context of Venetian writing and of Contarini's Spanish mission. Contarini's dispatches and *relazione* of this mission show his growing distrust of imperial ambitions in Italy, as well as his acute understanding of the fragmentary and transitory political structure of the Emperor Charles V's possessions. Elsewhere in this thesis, Contarini's convictions about the existence of civil government within the divine hierarchy has been established. This conviction was elaborated and applied to the example of Venice partly as a result of his Spanish experiences. Contarini's treatise on Venice was circulated in manuscript in France and Germany, as well as in the city itself during the 1530's. His discussion of Venetian government was therefore intended for an educated foreign audience as well as for his fellow patricians. After its publication the book played a prominent role in the political education of Europe. The lessons which foreign readers drew from it could be applied equally to monarchical governments and republics.

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[160] *Andreae Navagerii...Opera Omnia* (Padua, 1718) 45-64. See also his poem on the loss of Padua in 1509: 'De Patavio a militibus vastata' *ibid.* 213-14.
[161] Note Navagero's letter of 12 September 1525 from Toledo to Giambattista Ramusio in which he records sending a work by Primaleon to Ramusio by means of the returning Contarini. He has been unable to find any work in print about the Spanish Indies but he is very friendly with Pietro Martire d' Anghiera. *Ibid.* 300.
[162] *Contarini* 12,26,64,139,141; *Opera* 266, 273, 290, 321.
[163] *Contarini* 43; *Opera* 280.
[164] *Contarini* 26; *Opera* 273.
[165] *Contarini* 87; *Opera* 300.
[166] *Contarini* 65 (Lewkenor omits the title of the book in his translation); *Opera* 290.
[167] *C. und C.* Letter no. 13 (26 November 1513) 90-93: 92.
[168] 'Haveva tutte le Historie et de' Greci, et de' Latini a mente, et antiche, et moderne...' Beccadelli (1797-1804) I, part 2, 43.

It is therefore interesting to note how Contarini followed Aristotle's views very closely in some instances, and departed from him quite markedly elsewhere, in order to present a view of Venice which attracted the attention of readers all over Europe. His success was probably largely due to the enduring fame of Venice, and to the passions which were provoked by all things Italian during the sixteenth century. This success may also have been due to the fact that the themes which his book touches upon obviously struck a chord with governors and governed in countries such as France, Germany, and England which had been riven with political and religious faction. They looked for an explanation of Venice's apparent stability and unity. In Contarini's book they found a discussion of the themes of unity and discord in republics which referred to modern and ancient republics, as well as to Aristotle and Plato. It is clear that the work should not be viewed as simply a philosophical discourse abstracted from reality (although his idea of nature is a key to understanding the work) or hidebound by its classical and medieval sources. Therefore, the book must be viewed in the context of contemporary European, Italian, and Florentine circumstances, and the way in which Contarini followed or departed from his traditions and sources should be examined.

Chapter 7

Themes of Harmony and Discord in Gasparo Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*

It is impossible to separate Contarini's description of the Venetian machinery of government from his thoughts on the nature of man, civil society, and the divine hierarchy. As Professor Gleason has remarked: '...in his theoretical considerations he united the secular and ecclesiastical sphere[s]'.[1] These themes were fundamental to his work on the ideal bishop, and they were also important to his book on Venetian institutions, the *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (composed 1523-31; published 1543). For Contarini, the bishop represented the contemplative in action. This idea is present in a less obvious way in his *De magistratibus* where he described the relationship between men and civil society. The belief which he had been developing since at least 1511 that men could achieve some measure of happiness and perfection in relation to God in the secular world was fully stated in this book. Contarini applied his knowledge of the works of St Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle to his thorough understanding of the offices of Venetian government in order to suggest how this could be achieved. This chapter will demonstrate how the field of ecclesiology was therefore indistinguishable from the field of political theory for Contarini.

It is also clear that Contarini was acutely aware of the practical dangers which faced a government which had been constructed in accordance with the divine hierarchy. He was concerned with the political future of Venice after its difficulties and defeats in the Turkish wars, and the war of the League of Cambrai. Clearly, his diplomatic experience also made him aware of the problems of Venice's future role in European politics, and more specifically in its relationship with the Emperor Charles V. In addition, within Italy itself the example of contemporary states offered a lesson in the dangers of internal political division, and the papacy of Clement VII provided the unedifying spectacle of the spiritual leader of Christendom who worried more about his temporal possessions and secular politics than about the future of a divided Christendom. After 1535, Contarini sought to heal these divisions from within the Church. Until then he offered in *De magistratibus* a variety of solutions to internal political instability. This chapter will focus on his concern for the harmony and discord within states, the way in which he used the body analogy as a model for states, the way he used contemporary

[1] Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1993) 63.

examples of states for his arguments, and also on the way he combined these arguments with the assertion of Venetian military expertise to suggest how decline in these states (such as in Florence), and a single monarchy (such as that of an emperor or tyrant) could be avoided.

Contarini's work on Venice begins with a description of the amazement and admiration the city provoked in foreign visitors, whether on account of its commerce, its concourse of foreigners, extent of territory, or for the singularity of its situation. Contarini asserted that Venice was probably unparalleled in ancient or modern times for these things. The reactions of strangers to Venice were probably proverbial by this time, but it is possible that Contarini also had in mind the reactions of his two Florentine friends Pier Francesco da Gagliano and Alfonso Pitti when they had visited the city several years earlier. The situation of Venice which he described echoed Aristotle's views on the proper site of a city in his *Politics*. Contarini's description of Venice as a port and his praise of 'traffique of all sortes of marchandise' accorded with Aristotle's cautious approval of trading cities against Plato, who had expressed disapproval of sea-ports, navies, foreign trade, and travel. Like Aristotle, Contarini noted that Venice was endowed with anchorages and harbours which were not too close to the city. Aristotle had regarded these as an important factor in the security of the city.[2]

The first establishment of Venice was attributed by Contarini to the nobles and wealthy inhabitants of Padua, Aquilea, Uderzo, Concordia, and Altina who had fled with their families from the ravages of Attila and the Huns to the islands of the lagoon. Later, under Charlemagne and Pippin, these families had gathered on the island of Rialto which was a more convenient site. In his account of the origins of Venice, Contarini was faithful to his *Quattrocento* predecessors in their descriptions of the foundation and rise of Venice.[3] Flavio Biondo was employed by the Venetian state until the autumn of 1427. His *De origine et gestis Venetorum*, (composed 1459-60; published in Verona, 1481; Venice, 1503, 1510; Turin, 1527) described Venice's participation in the Fourth Crusade and the Republic's history until 1291.

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[2] *Contarini* 2-3; *Opera* 261-62. Aristotle, *The Politics*, (trans.) T. A. Sinclair (Harmondsworth, 1986) VII,vi. 1327a11-a40. Plato, *The Laws*, (trans.) T. J. Saunders (Harmondsworth, 1970) IV init & 949ff. However, Aristotle also argues that defence and commerce are not, properly speaking, the ends of a city: Aristotle (1986) III, ix. 1280a25.

[3] *Opera* 262-63. In what follows, I have in mind the comments of Daniel Robey and John Law, 'The Venetian Myth and the "De Republica Veneta" of Pier Paolo Vergerio', *Rinascimento*, 2nd ser. 15 (1975) 3-59, esp. 13.

Flavio Biondo was the first historian to exploit the idea that the classical past could be marked off from his own age by a 'middle age'.[4] By inserting Venice into a period beginning with the fall of Rome, Biondo's history emphasized the importance of exiles in the foundation of the city. In his preface, dedicated to Doge Francesco Foscari, Biondo compared Venice's foundation with that of Rome, Thebes, Milan, Verona, Vicenza, and Trent. He remarked that: 'The city of Venice was founded in this place, where the prudence of men's minds would not ordinarily place it, not voluntarily, with forethought and planning; but by fear, chance, and necessity' by those fleeing from Attila: 'So that this place was filled by barbarians by men from different cities in Italy...' Biondo, who was himself exiled from Milan in 1423, wrote in his history of Venice that it provided a place of rest, quiet, and asylum, an 'ark of salvation' and a home without walls or gates, both by day and night.[5] In 1487, Marcantonio Sabellico described how Venice had been founded by those fleeing Attila and the barbarians.[6] A few years later Bernardo Giustiniani's *De origine urbis gestisque venetorum historiae* (Venice, 1493) imitated Sabellico and Biondo in its description of the devastations of Attila and his successors which had caused people to flee to the islands of the lagoon and to construct a city there. He explained that he had outlined the events of the forty years following Attila's death: 'Not so that we might be able to write a history of those times, but so that we can tell of those things which brought men in flight to this lagoon...'[7]

Having noted Venice's material splendour and 1100 years of peace and stability, Contarini turned to the specific matter which he wished to discuss. He agreed with those people who considered a city not to consist of 'walles and houses onely, but rather the assemblie and order of the citizens...through which men enjoy a happie and quiet life'. In this Venice had surpassed antiquity, and although many states had had greater territory, wealth, or military success, nevertheless Venice was unsurpassed on account of its 'institutions & lawes prudently decreed, to establish unto the inhabitantes

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[4] Denys Hay, 'Flavio Biondo and the Middle Ages', in *idem* (ed.) *Renaissance Essays* (London and Ronceverte, 1988) ch.3.

[5] 'Venetam vero urbem non voluntas, sed timor: non propositum sed occasio: non consilium, sed necessitas his condidit in locis, quae nulla mentis sane hominum prudentia elegisset.' ; '...ut ea loca à barbaris complerentur diversarum Italiae urbium viris, quibus perpetua foret cura barbaras gentes populosque feroces & immanes à Christianorum cervicibus repellendi'. Flavio Biondo, *De origine et gestis Venetorum* in J. G. Graevius (ed.) *Thesaurus Antiquitatem et Historiarum Italiae*, 9 vols., (Leiden, 1723-5) V, coll. 1-26: Preface.

[6] Marcantonio Sabellico, *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita...* (Andrea Torresano da Asola: Venice, 1487) sigs. aiiiv-aiiiir.

[7] 'Non ut eorum temporum historiam scriberemus, sed ut quaedam quae magis insignia ac memoratu digna sunt visa narraremus, ex quibus adacti sint homines ad haec paludium confugia petenda, ea sumus prosecuti'. Bernardo Giustiniani, *De Origine Urbis gestisque Venetorum Historiae Pro oemium*, in Graevius (1723-5) V, coll. 2-172: col. 47. See also col. 9.

a happie and prosperous felicitie...'[8] Contarini clearly derived his view of a state and its aim from Aristotle, who argued that a city was not constituted by its walls and that the 'state is a kind of association - an association of citizens in a constitution'.[9] Aristotle asserted that happiness was the aim of the constitution and that the best state was one in which the possibilities of happiness were greatest.[10] Aristotle observed that he had defined happiness in the *Nicomachean Ethics* as activity and a complete utilization of virtue (αρετη).[11] Contarini did not consider education here, which Aristotle regarded as vital for the development of reason (λογοσ) which was part of man's ability to exercise virtue.

Contarini attached particular importance to his ancestors who were endowed with wisdom, virtue of mind, and industry. These men were unlike the virtuous men of Athens, Lacedaemon (Sparta), and Rome, in that they were united to one another and were not overruled by the people so that they might 'establish, honour, and amplifie their country, without having in a manner any the least regarde of their owne private glorie or commodity'.[12] The Spartan and Athenian constitutions were of course of particular interest to Aristotle and Plato. Aristotle wrote that correct and abnormal constitutions were directed towards the 'common good' and 'private advantage' respectively.[13] Contarini gave the antithesis of common good and private advantage the particularly Venetian accent by asserting that individual Venetians did not have tombs, statues, or military trophies in their names. In his description of ducal powers he was also careful to note that the Venetian Doge had the appearance of kingship only, and that his power was carefully governed and directed towards the good of the state, and not towards private advantage.[14]

Having asserted the Aristotelian virtues of his ancestors, Contarini argued that no philosopher had created a state which was so well framed and he remarked, as the ostensible purpose of his work, that: 'for which cause I thought I should doe a thing

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[8] 'Verum aliud quiddam est in hac civitate omnes, qui civitatem, non tantum moenia ac domos esse putant, sed civium conventum atque ordinem potissimum hoc sibi nomen vendicare existimant. ea est Reipublicae scilicet ratio & forma, ex qua beata vita hominibus contingit.'; '...quae institutione ac legibus ad bene beateque vivendum idoneis, cum hac nostra conferri possit:...'*Contarini* 5-6; *Opera* 263.

[9] Aristotle (1986) III,iii. 1276a34; 1276a24.

[10] *Ibid.* VII, xiii. 1331b24-1332b11.

[11] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, (ed. and trans.) H. Rackham (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1926) I, vii.

[12] '...omnes ad unum consensere in studio patriae firmandae, & amplificandae, nulla prope privati commodi & honoris habita ratione'. *Contarini* 6; *Opera* 263. Note Sallust's description of the decline of Roman morals after the defeat of Carthage. Public virtue was replaced by avarice and ambition: Sallust, *The War with Catiline*, (trans.) J. C. Rolfe (London, 1921) IX-XII. Sallust's views were repeated by St Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, (trans.) William M. Green, 7 vols., (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) II, 18.

[13] Aristotle (1986) III, vi. 1279a22-b10.

[14] *Contarini* and *Opera*, bk.2 *passim.*

very gratefull to strangers, if I shoulde describe the order of so renowned a commonwealth'. He noted that other knowledgeable men had not undertaken this task.[15] He continued: 'Being therefore determined to write of this our commonwealth, to the end that every one may know whether the same be well or ill disposed, I thinke it best to take my beginning from hence', that is, with the Aristotelian precept: 'That man is by nature made a civile creature'.[16] Contarini continued that Man was unable to live at all or well by himself[17], so that he joined with others and formed a 'civil institution'. In this way citizens could enjoy a happy life which was defined as one: 'which containeth in it selfe the use of vertue...'[18] Aristotle emphasized the importance of 'goodness' in a state (i.e. 'virtue' or αρετη).[19] He asserted that those concerned to secure good government should pay attention to goodness[20], but he also noted that good birth could be a competing factor in people's claims to participate in government.[21] Aristotle listed free birth, wealth, culture, and nobility of descent as claims of merit, and therefore the claim of culture or education seemed to be identified with that of goodness. For Contarini goodness ('virtus') certainly accompanied noble birth.

Having outlined the importance of military virtue, Contarini turned to the composition of the government and considered whether it was better for it to be made up of one, the few, or the multitude.[22] Contarini suggested that the government of men should be entrusted to a being which was superior to man, i.e. divine, but failing that, it should be apparent that Man's mind had something in common with the brutish and the divine.[23] By the institution of laws, the divine aspect of Man, being his mind, might be expressed without the possibility of animals passions perverting his governance. Laws should be established by a group of men, who had acquired skills over a period of time; the law should then also draw upon the comparisons of their collective experience with the experience of others. These laws should be formulated untainted by the bias of friendship or hatred and only with regard to virtue, and they should be enforced impartially. Contarini asserted that Aristotle in his work 'De mundo' :

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[15] 'Quamobrem putavi ego exteris hominibus rem minime ingratam atque inutilem me facturum, si tam praeclarae Reipublicae institutionem literis mandarem'. *Contarini* 7; *Opera* 264.
[16] 'Hominem scilicet a natura civile animal effectum esse...' *Contarini* 8; *Opera* 264. Aristotle (1986) I, ii. 1253a1.
[17] Aristotle (1986) I, ii. 1252a24-b27.
[18] 'cives faciat foelicis vitae compotes' ; 'At foelix beataque vita usu virtutis praecipue contineri a summis philosophis perhibetur...' *Contarini* 8; *Opera* 264.
[19] Aristotle (1986) I, ii. 1253a29.
[20] *Ibid.* III, xiii. 1283a23; III, ix. 1280a25-1281a2.
[21] *Ibid.* III, xiii. 1283a23.
[22] *Contarini* 9-10; *Opera* 265. Aristotle (1986) III, vii. 1279a22-b4.
[23] Plato considers whether it is better to have a virtuous ruler capable of interpreting the laws or, in the absence of such a virtuous man, laws to which the ruler is subject. Plato did not believe that a virtuous lawmaker could exist. Plato (1970) IV, 709a-715d.

> ...found not any thing to which he might likelier resemble God, then to an aut[h]entike law in a Citie rightly governed...[and] he tearmeth law to be a mind without appetite, which is to say pure, cleare, and free from the infirmitie of any passion...[24]

Rule should not be entrusted to one man who would err and begin to decline, but rather to the laws which were eternal. Nevertheless, he granted that a 'G[u]ardian' of the laws would be necessary, who would judge in cases where the laws could not be applied.[25]

The laws should not be upheld by a king, but rather by the multitude. However, this multitude should be united in some respect. As philosophers had taught, it would be best if there was a 'temperature' between the noble and popular elements and that government was 'mixed' as that of Sparta was.[26] However, both Sparta and Rome declined as soon as they were at peace, as their constitutions had been framed for war.[27] Contarini ignored Aristotle's criticism of the Ephors of Sparta, that being poor they were open to corruption. He also ignored the observation that lifetime membership of the Board of Elders was unsuitable as minds declined with age.[28] He also ignored Aristotle's assertion that soliciting for votes could be one cause of constitutional change.[29]

However, it is clear that Contarini again drew directly from the works of Aristotle and Plato for his argument here. Aristotle considered whether a man preeminent in virtue should govern permanently, using an analogy drawn from nature, like Contarini.[30] The former considered whether it was more expedient to be ruled by the best man or by the best laws. A ruler or constitution based on the letter and rules of law should be free of passion. Passion was not to be found in the law but was always present in the human mind. A crowd could come to a better decision than one man, who could not easily exercise oversight over many things. The judgement of a single man was bound to be corrupted when he was overpowered by anger or a similar emotion. The best men could be found, making an aristocracy, and this would therefore be better for cities than the rule of one man. However, Aristotle noted that government would naturally proceed in

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[24] '...nil aliud reperit, cui similem Deum optimum faceret, praeter antiquam legem, in civitate recte instituta...' ; 'Ac in libris in quibus de republica tractat, legem inquit esse mentem sine appetitu: perinde ac si diceret mentem puram, lucidam, nullis affectuum morbis infectam...' ; '...ut custos quispiam ac veluti vicarius & minister legibus...' *Contarini* 11-12; *Opera* 266.

[25] 'Verum necesse est, ut custos quispiam ac veluti vicarius & minister legibus constituatur, qui pro legis imperio rempublicam regat...' *Contarini* 12-13; *Opera* 266.

[26] 'multitudinis', 'temperandam', mixtionem quandam' *Contarini* 14; *Opera* 267. Aristotle (1986) II, vi. 1265b26.

[27] Aristotle (1986) II, ix. 1271a37 and Plato (1970) I init. & 666e, 688a, 705d, make the same point.

[28] Aristotle (1986) II, ix. 1271a37, 1270b35.

[29] *Ibid.* V, ii. 1302a22; iii. 1303a13.

[30] *Ibid.* III, xiii. 1284a3-b22.

a cycle from the establishment of kings to democracy *via* aristocracy, oligarchy, and tyranny.[31]

Aristotle argued that the rule of law was preferable to that of a single citizen. Even if it was a better course to have individuals ruling, they should be made 'law-guardians'. Law trained the holders of office in its own spirit, and allowed improvements in the light of experience. Aristotle argued:

> He who commands that law should rule may thus be regarded as commanding that God and reason alone should rule; he who commands that a man should rule adds the character of the beast. Appetite has that character; and high spirit, too, perverts the holders of the office, even when they are the best of men. Law is thus "reason without desire".[32]

Having praised the founders of Venice for directing the citizens of Venice towards virtue and peace as well as internal concord by means of a mixture of elements, Contarini turned to the institution of the Great Council which he viewed as the source of all authority. Membership of this body was permitted to those of established noble lineage and not according to wealth. Contarini, like Aristotle, excluded 'artificers', 'mercenarie people', and 'servants' ('opifices', 'mercenarij', 'servi publici') from citizenship on account of the dangers to a state ruled by 'common people' who were nevertheless necessary to the maintenance of any state. Consciously or unconsciously Contarini equated these people with Aristotle's slaves, who were also excluded from government.[33] However, by asserting the importance of 'nobility of lineage' Contarini ignored Aristotle's arguments for a pragmatic, functional definition of citizenship as against the claims of inheritance.[34] Much more congenial for Contarini was Aristotle's view that the rule of the best men, the aristocracy, was preferable to the rule of the wealthy, the oligarchy.[35] In contrast, Contarini asserted that the Venetian government

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[31] *Ibid.* III, xv. 1285b33-1286b22; 1287b8. Also Plato, *The Republic*, (trans.) H. D. P. Lee (Harmondsworth, 1955; reprinted 1963) VIII, 546ff; Cicero, *De re publica*, (trans.) C. W. Keyes (London and New York, 1928) II, xxv, I, xliv.

[32] Aristotle (1986) III, xvi. 1287a1-b25: 1287a23. In his *Laws*, Plato proposes a constitution whose dominant principle is the sovereignty of law, and in which a body of 37 guardians of the law would exercise great authority. In his *Republic*, Plato argues that the human soul has three parts: reason, spirit, and appetite (435a-441b) and these are likened to a man, a lion, and a many-headed beast (588b-589b). There, as elsewhere, Plato sees law as embodying reason (590e).

[33] *Contarini* 16-17; *Opera* 268. Aristotle (1986) III, v. 1277b33-1278b5. Discussing different forms of government in Book four of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier*, Ottaviano, Doge of Genoa, declared that some men were concerned solely with physical activities and did not profit from their reason: 'These, then. are essentially slaves, and it is more advantageous for them to obey than to command'. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, (trans.) George Bull (Harmondsworth, 1967) 298.

[34] Aristotle (1986) III, ii. 1275b22-1276a6.

[35] *Ibid.* III, xviii. 1288a32.

was a 'mixed' form made up of popular, monarchical, and aristocratic elements: Great Council, Doge, and Savii.[36]

Contarini asserted that authority and power should 'belong to many' for where a population was equal in quality, the distribution of office should also be equal. 'Publique office' was not to be granted to a few families, which Contarini called oligarchy after the Greek custom. It should rather be granted to many families 'in that measure, that not every one do governe', but only those excelling in honesty and wisdom, more concerned for the public good than private advantage. Although it would be called an aristocratic oligarchy today, Contarini asserted that the availability of office to many families was a 'popular' element in the Venetian system. Contarini was thoroughly realistic in his appraisal of the Venetian experience when he noted that:

> the preheminence of publike authoritie might pertaine to many, and not bee engrossed up among a few: least thereby through too much greatnesse of power might become disturbers or oppressors of the commonwealth: and on the other side, those that doe find themselves voide and hopelesse of honour and government, might grow into a dislike and hatred of the same.[37]

The participation of excellent men from a restricted number of families supplied a 'nobilitie' in the mixture of government. Election by lot supplied the 'popular' element, and it was fitting when it was asserted that quantitatively equal things ought to be divided up equally, so that all citizens being equal, they should have an equal share in office. However, others argued that those who were very rich should participate in office more than the poor. Contarini attempted to reconcile both positions by proposing that the Venetian combination of 'popular' lot and 'deliberate election & advised iudgement' was a way to have 'the forme of a nobler rule' without going 'beyond the mean & manner of the popular authority'. Therefore, he concluded that: 'in this commonwealth of ours the forme of an Aristocracie is much more excellent than the popular government', particularly as the mixture of monarchy, 'popular government', and a 'middle sort of Magistrates' created a 'wel concenting harmony of an excellent commonwealth'.[38]

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[36] Aristotle observes that constitutions are either 'absolutely best' (which Contarini has dismissed) or the 'harmonious and well-balanced mixture.' All others are deviations. *Ibid.* IV, iii. 1290a13. In his *De elementis*, which he wrote in Spain, Contarini considered Aristotle's views of mixtures in nature: *Opera* 1-90. It has been suggested that Aristotle derived some of his thought on mixed governments from his study of mixtures of elements: James M. Blythe. *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1992) 22-23 & n.38.

[37] 'ut scilicet ius publicae potestatis ad plures pertineat, non autem ad paucos necessarios contrahatur nam hi potestatem adepti moliri aliquid facile possent, rempublicamque turbare, plurimi praeterea, honorum facti expertes, rempublicam oderint, rebusque novis studeant, necesse est'. *Contarini* 32-33; *Opera* 276.

[38] 'praestantiorum esse in nostra Republica formam optimatium quam status popularis'. *Contarini* 33-36; *Opera* 276-77. The idea of equal distribution among equals is discussed by Aristotle (1986) III, xii.

Contarini's work has most often been viewed as an idealizing response to the Venetian collapse at Agnadello[39], and a reassertion of the 'myth' of Venice.[40] Unfortunately, this view tends to distract attention away from the many other, more subtle, elements of the work. Some response to this view must nevertheless be made, having established the work's great debt to Aristotle, and Plato, and some *Quattrocento* writing. The explicit statements which Contarini made about Venetian stability were brief (possibly deliberately), but have attracted a great deal of attention, largely deprecatory. It is notable that when Contarini did come to mention Cambrai directly he did so only to mention the problem of indebtedness which it had engendered for the Venetian state. In any case, he gave Cambrai the same prominence as remarks about Venice's resistance to the Turks. Contarini simply stated: 'their endevours were withstoode, and our affaires though for a while declining, were yet at length restored into their former estate & flourishing erected greatnesse'. Similarly, he remarked of the Turks: 'wee alone not without exceeding charge and detriment have resisted and kept at a baye many yeares'.[41]

These assertions were made in the midst of a discussion of the public treasurers, and a little further on, Contarini noted how the interest on loans to the state for these wars had become very great and a law was enacted to deal with the matter.[42] Contarini's account in both cases was pragmatic and accurate, and the tenor was certainly not triumphalist. The republican liberty which Contarini was principally concerned with of course recognized the importance of freedom from external interference, that was a commonplace of such thinking. Contarini was also very interested in the related issue of internal political and social unity. His most extensive remarks were made to this end, and it was apparent to him that Venice's greatest dangers were internal, not external. Accordingly, the conclusion of *De magistratibus* addresses these dangers.

Contarini's argument on 34-5 follows very closely, even reproduces, the argument at *ibid.* V, i. 1301b20-1302a16.

[39] See especially, Lester J. Libby Jr, 'Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509', *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973) 7-45: 8; Myron Gilmore, 'Myth and Reality in Venetian Politcal Theory', in J. R. Hale (ed.) *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973) 431-44: 434; Hermann Hackert, *Die Staatsschrift Gasparo Contarinis und die politischen Verhältnisse Venedigs im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1940).

[40] On the myth of Venice see principally, Franco Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 23 (1961) 58-75; Felix Gilbert, 'The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought', in Nicolai Rubinstein (ed.) *Florentine Studies* (London, 1968) 463-500.

[41] 'sed diis bene iuvantibus omnes eorum impetus sunt repressi, resque pene collapsa in integrum restituta est'. ; 'quorum impetum non sine maximo detrimento complures annos sustinuimus...'*Contarini* 109; *Opera* 309.

[42] *Contarini* 113; *Opera* 310-11.

Contarini's treatment of internal and external social and political unity within a divine or Venetian hierarchy has led Professor Bouwsma to argue that Contarini was 'peculiar' in his use of 'nature'. According to Professor Bouwsma, the refusal to recognize change at the same time as he asserts a theory of decline in nature constitutes part of Contarini's 'weak excursions into systematic thought', and one of the 'regressive elements' in his book.[43] Contarini's attitude to change and decline in states is better understood from the contents of a hitherto neglected letter of 1526 to the poet and astronomer Giovanni Battista Torre. In it, he contrasted the way men and countries had endured - although they had been changing since the age of Homer or before the Trojan war - with the 'virtù' and capacity of man's mind which continued in a way which rendered the epochal alterations in countries and seas as nothing. The existence of this constancy amid flux seemed to prove to Contarini the rational quality of man's intellect.[44] In his work on Venice, which he had drafted a year or two before this letter, Contarini was at pains to indicate that the foundation and government of Venice had been characterized by the rational minds of wise men. Their reason coincided with nature and the divine hierarchy, which explained how Contarini's Venice could show symptoms of decline, like the countries and seas mentioned in his letter, and yet also remain unchanged in its rational and divine essence, like the mind of man.

The problem of sovereignty which St Thomas Aquinas and other writers had faced in the thirteenth century was still relevant to Gasparo Contarini three centuries later.[45] In his description of the government of Venice as divine and natural, Contarini was faithful to Thomist attempts to amalgamate ecclesiastical and secular views of political power. Aquinas aimed at a harmonious dualism between temporal and spiritual rulers, the unity of society being preserved by the ultimate subjection of all men and all things to the papal monarchy. This idea of the unified parts making up the whole body was based on a belief (in part derived from I Cor. 12.12) in the harmony within the natural order. For Aquinas, human law generally corresponded to divine and natural law.

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[43] William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance values in the age of the Counter-Reformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) 147, 152-3.

[44] Contarini's reflections were provoked by Torre's 'canzonetta volgare' which pleased Contarini for its philosophical expression of 'la breve immutatione di tutte le cose inferiori'. This interesting and neglected letter is worth quoting at length: '...primo fu mille anni che cosi breve tempo poche fiate replicato si possono estimare pochissimo tempo. Hora mo se consideriamo avanti la guerra Troiana overo etiam li tempi d' Homero, che tanto incirca distano da noi, et che consideriamo la disposition del mondo all'hora si nel vivere deli huomini come de li paesi et a questo nostro con le mutationi, le quali son state di mezzo, certo è cosa quasi incredibile, si che ogni sorte de le cose mutabile circa la duration loro è pocho meno di quello istessa, come ben dicete voi. Tal che io non discorrendo, che certo in cosi piccolo animale, quanto è l'homo, che cosa admirabile è ritrovarsi una virtu cosi capace et cosi grande, che à lei longissimi spatii di tempi et le mutationi delle parti dell' universo cosi grande, come sono provincie et mari, pareno nulla. Et cosi à me pare la experientia sensata restare a quello ch'à iudicio mio dimostra la ragione naturale della qualita dello intelletto humano'. Gasparo Contarini, *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542)* (ed.) Franz Dittrich (Braunsberg, 1881) 260, no. 6.

[45] Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1963).

Natural law therefore contained justice and equity. God's powers were transferred to the *Ecclesia* and therefore law became an expression of the will of the sovereign *Ecclesia* articulated by ruler and people acting jointly. The exercise of justice was therefore natural and divine and neither the pope, nor a temporal ruler, nor the people could lay sole claim to it. The pope's *plenitudo potestatis* became a temporary phenomenon, and both ruler and people renounced their absolute powers to the abstract *Ecclesia.*

It is interesting to note how the doctrine of mixed government, so dear to Contarini, was developed as much in ecclesiology as in political theory. Aquinas considered why God had not given the children of Israel a monarchy from the beginning seeing as it was closest to the divine governance of the universe. He cited Aristotle on the advantages of popular participation in government, and on the varieties of licit constitutions, and he concluded that a mixed form (including monarchy) was better than a simple one. He referred to Moses who ruled as a kind of king, but who was flanked by an aristocracy of seventy-two elders chosen by the people:

> Such is any well-mixed polity; [it is mixed] from kingship since there is one at the head of all; from aristocracy in so far as a number of persons are set in authority on account of their virtue; from democracy, that is the power of the people, in so far as the rulers can be chosen from the people and the people have a right to choose their rulers.[46]

Aquinas departed from Aristotle who wanted the rule of the 'mediocritas'. For Aquinas monarchy ensured unity, aristocracy wisdom, and democracy liberty. A mixed regime was also best because one part of it could check or 'temper' the other two.[47]

However, in his *De regno, ad regem Cypri* (known in a bastardized form as *De regimine principum* for several centuries) Aquinas described the rule of one man as being the best reflection of divine and natural government. He diminished the importance of a virtuous aristocracy and the rights of the people to elect as a ruler one from among themselves. By contrast, Contarini emphasized the importance of these latter groups in the composition of Venetian government whilst retaining the main principles of Thomist and Aristotelian political theory. The ecclesiological dimensions of the arguments about mixed government were fully exposed during the conciliar

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[46] 'Talis enim est optima politia, bene commixta ex regno, inquantum unus praeest; et aristocratia, inquantum multi principantur secundum virtutem; et ex democratia, idest potestate populi, inquantum ex popularibus possunt eligi principes, et ad populum pertinet electio principum'. St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 61 vols., (London, 1967-81) vol.XXIX, 268: 1a2ae.105,1.

[47] On this see Brian Tierney, *Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought 1150-1650* (Cambridge, 1982) 87-97.

controversy of the fifteenth century.[48] The defence of conciliar power to depose popes was made with reference to Aristotle and theories of constitutional sovereignty, including the example of Venice. The conciliarist Panormitanus argued around 1440:

> ...jurisdiction is in the whole body of the church...and in Peter as chief minister...We can observe the same in the government of the Venetians. The duke is first in council and among individual citizens; but if he errs, he is resisted by the city, and if necessary deposed. This is because the foundation of jurisdiction is in the body of the city, and in the duke as chief minister.[49]

Apologists for papal monarchy such as Juan de Turrecremata, argued that the pope should not be subject to the corporation or 'universitas' in this way. Citing Aristotle and other secular analogies, he argued that supreme power lay with one man although he did allow for a theoretical conciliar power to be evoked in the case of papal heresy.

While it would be unfair to attribute conciliar views to Contarini simply because the conciliarists cited the idea of Venetian mixed government, nevertheless, in many respects he shared their view. The *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* (1538), which Contarini partly composed, attacked the increase of papal authority as the origin of contemporary corruptions in the Church. This had been expressed in the tendency to regard the will of the popes as the supreme law of the Church, and to consider popes as absolute masters of benefices. In addition, while his *De potestate pontificis quod divinus* (ca. 1530-5) recognized the necessity of a visible head of the Church, his *De potestate pontificis in usu clavium epistola* (ca. 1530-40) expressed Contarini's concern for curial reform from the head downwards in terms of the well-proportioned Aristotelian republic in which the defect of one part could adversely affect the others, and the health of the whole body.[50] It would be wrong to suggest that Contarini was a conciliarist in the way Panormitanus was, although he probably knew the conciliarists' work (the hermits certainly did in 1513). In his short description of previous Church councils which he wrote for Paul III in preparation for the proposed council at Mantua (1537), he virtually ignored Constance and Basel.[51] However, in a council he may have seen the possibility of restoring the Church to its primitive state with a limit on the temporal authority of the papacy, and an enhanced role for cardinals and bishops which

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[48] On this see A. J. Black, *Monarchy and Community: political ideas in the later conciliar controversy 1430-1450* (Cambridge, 1970); *idem, Council and Commune: the conciliar movement and the fifteenth-century heritage* (London, 1979).

[49] Quoted in Black (1970) 11.

[50] 'Quod bonum constat ex una integraque causa, quae omnia complectitur illa, quae ad rem bonam etiam requirundur, malum vero contingit ex singulis defectibus. Sicuti pulchritudo sit ex proportione membrorum omnium convenienti simulque decentia coloris sunt adiectis; deformitas vero contingit ex singulis defectibus'. Josse Le Plat (ed.) *Monumentorum ad historiam Concilii Tridentini*, 7 vols., (Louvain, 1781-7) II, 605-06.

[51] *Conciliorum magis illustrium summa ad Paulum tertium Pontificem Maximum* in *Opera*, 546-63.

might have reflected his view of the Venetian mixed polity as much as of the early Church.

There was nothing wrong with monarchy as a guardian of laws if it was considered by itself, Contarini asserted in a faithfully Thomist fashion. However, Contarini rejected the Thomist assumption that one man was fit to rule on practical grounds:

> Yet in regarde of the brevitie of life, and mans fraile disposition, which for the most parte enclineth to the worser parte, the government of the multitude is farre more convenient to the assemblie of citizens, which experience the mistresse of all things doth elegantly teach us, because that wee have not read that there was among the auncientes any soverainty of a king, neyther have wee in our time seene any that had not soone declyned into tiranny.[52]

Here, Contarini rejected Aquinas' argument from nature by another from natural observation. He also rejected the Thomist view that tyranny occurred more frequently when there were more rulers than when there was one. However, Aquinas did say that of all the corruptions of monarchy, aristocracy and polity, the corruption of monarchy into tyranny was worse than either oligarchy or democracy. Nevertheless, Aquinas' view of the corporeal and celestial universe suggested that all bodies were ruled by one rational creature.[53] Contarini broke out of this paradigm to argue for the advantages of government in Venice by a restricted number of aristocrats. For, as far as the rule of the people was concerned, he saw there only a tendency to disturbances and uproar. He stated that:

> ...many troubles and popular tumults arise in those cities, whose government is swaied by the common people, which we have also read, hath beene observed in sundry commonwealthes, and also delivered in way of precept by many and great philosophers...[54]

Support for such a view could indeed be found in the writings of Aquinas who argued from experience that provinces and cities which were not ruled by one person were torn by dissension.[55] However, Aristotle thought that democracy was less prone to faction than oligarchy as the former is a constitution of middle people while the oligarchs were

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[52] '...nihilominus propter saepius in deteriorem partem labile ingenium hominis ac vitae brevitatem optimum omnium statum minime esse sub regio principatu, sed multitudinis gubernationem civili societati magis convenire: idque experientia rerum omnium magistra luculenter docet. Nam nullum regium principatum apud veteres extitisse unquam legimus, neque nostra tempestate conspeximus, qui non brevi in tyrannidem lapsus sit'. *Opera* 266-67; *Contarini* 13.

[53] St Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship. To the King of Cyprus.* (trans.) G. B. Phelan, (ed.) I. T. Eschmann, O.P. (Toronto, 1949): I,v,40; I,iii,23; I,i,9. However Aquinas also asserts 'That it is a lesser evil when a monarchy turns into tyranny than when an aristocracy becomes corrupt'. He says that the greater the number of rulers, the greater the chance of dissension. Tyranny occurs more frequently on the basis of polyarchy than monarchy. *Ibid.* I, v.

[54] 'Summa enim turbatio popularesque tumultus frequenter concitantur in illis civitatibus, in quibus summa rerum est apud populum: quod etiam in quibusdam rebus publicis observatum fuisse legimus, & a nonnullis philosophis praeceptum...' *Opera* 268; *Contarini* 17.

[55] Aquinas (1949) I, ii, 20.

liable to divide among themselves as well as to come into conflict with the people.[56] That Contarini derived this view from more than a reading of Aristotle or Aquinas was shown by his denunciation of 'sedition and rancor' which formed the 'greatest and most dangerous contagion of commonwealths'.[57] He later mentioned the 'elder and later commonwealths...the most part of which were continually disquieted with civill dissensions and popular seditious tumults: and lastly by them turned up side downe & overthrowen:...'[58] Writing of Venice as a corporal entity with the patricians fulfilling the role of the eyes, Contarini asserted that:

> ...whatsoever commonwealth shall suffer it selfe to be carried away into that folly and madness, (as to many it hath happened) that the people wil challenge unto itselfe the office of seeing, & usurpe the exercise of the eyes, necessarily the whole commonwealth must tumble into a downefall and ruine:...[59]

It was also clear that overambitious individuals could also seek to impose their tyranny and so ruin the state. Such tyrants were Catiline, Sulla, Marius, and Julius Caesar in ancient times[60], but Contarini added:

> ...in these times of ours Italy it selfe hath yeelded us sufficient examples, all the cities whereof (in a manner) that were eyther governed by the people, or by the nobility, being brought under the yoke or tirany of some one of their citizens.[61]

By way of providing a more recent example of one such tyrant, he praised the Ten for uncovering the tyrannical ambitions of Doge Marino Falier (1354-58). The Ten had condemned Falier and his co-conspirators to death for threatening the liberty of the republic. Contarini judged that this was a very serious conspiracy which had threatened to bring about the overthrow of the state.[62]

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[56] Aristotle (1986) V, i. 1302a2.

[57] '...seditio aut simultas inter cives...maxima & periculosissima rerum publicarum labes'. *Opera* 266; *Contarini* 11.

[58] 'Ideoque facile perspicere poterit id in hac Republica temperamentium extitisse, quod caeteris homnibus tum priscis tum iunioribus semper defuit. Quamobrem evenisse etiam comperiet, ut in cunctis aliis tumultus populares frequenter fuerit excitati, qui tandem omnes Respublicas everterint'. *Opera* 321; *Contarini* 139.

[59] 'Quod si in quapiam republica eo infaniae venerint cives, quod in plerisque contingit, ut populus videndi munere fungi velit atque oculorum officium usurpet, continuo universam rempublicam everti necesse est'. *Opera* 326; *Contarini* 149. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, (trans.) W. Miller, 2 vols., (London and New York, 1914; reprinted 1925) 2.10-12 uses this image of the king's 'eye' and 'ear' with reference to his spies. Contarini cites this work: *Contarini* 26; *Opera* 273.

[60] *Opera* 295,318; *Contarini* 77,131. See also St Augustine (1972) III, 17, 28 on the conflict in Rome between patricians and plebs, and Sulla's crimes.

[61] 'Nostris vero temporibus compertum est, omnes fere civitates Italiae, quae populari statu, aut etiam optimatium utebantur, tandem in cuiuspiam suorum civium tyrannidem devenisse'. *Opera* 295; *Contarini* 77-8. Compare Aristotle (1986) V, i, ii.

[62] *Opera* 297; *Contarini* 81-82. On Contarini and his possible support for the increased power of the Ten under Gritti see Gleason (1993) 127.

These, briefly, were the immediate manifestations of misrule within a state. Venice had managed to avoid these dangers by a variety of means, principally by the application of laws formulated from a comparison of 'the inventions and examples of others with their owne experience'.[63] In addition, these laws reflected 'nature'[64], and therefore provided a concurrence with the divine and a useful guide for a virtuous aristocracy. Besides the laws, the human institutions created to apply them should imitate nature. Thus, Contarini preferred the rule of the old over the young as closest to the natural order of things.[65] In discussing the offices of the state Contarini concluded that Venice: 'is tempered with that moderation, which seemeth chiefly and neerest to imitate nature'.[66] Therefore, Venice reflected the divine order of the cosmos as well as the microcosm of divine order which was man.[67]

Gasparo Contarini's Venice was metaphorically expressed as a body on several occasions. He also employed musical metaphors, and elemental analogies such as the idea of 'temperature' in government. Body allegories were derived from Plato and Aristotle and their use was never simple or neutral in political terms. In the third book of *The Republic* Socrates introduced the subject of justice in the state so that the state might serve as an analogy to illuminate the nature of justice in man. The state, like the soul of man, was divided into three parts, the rational, the irascible, and the appetitive. In the state (and in man) justice consisted in a harmony of parts, each of them functioning properly in its appropriate sphere. The malfunctioning of any part disrupted the harmony of the entire organism. Aristotle also compared the composition of the state to the composition of an individual man. Medieval writers such as John of Salisbury and Aquinas developed elaborate body analogies to reconcile conflicting papal and monarchical claims to single headship. For John of Salisbury the prince had to obey the clergy as the head obeyed the soul. However, Dante argued for the rule of a single monarch in the Empire in his *De monarchia*, observing that such was the type of rule one observed in other natural organizations such as man and the family.

Contarini used the body analogy regularly to suggest both the perfection of Venice as a close imitation of nature and its potential for imperfection. Contarini first used the

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[63] 'Primo nanque in sanciendis, plurimi sapientes viri conveniunt, qui multarum rerum experientia docti, inventis aliorum exemplisque veterum collatis, tandem post diuturnum consulationem decernunt id quod optimum visum fuerit:..' *Opera* 265; *Contarini* 11. Lucretius, *On the Nature of the Universe*, (trans. and intro.) R. E. Latham (Harmondsworth, 1951; reprinted 1981) V, 1129-1196 notes that the rule of law was established to protect men from violence.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *Opera* 290; *Contarini* 64.

[66] 'Ex quibus facile quivis intelliget, eam adhibitam fuisse in hac republica moderationem, quae maxime videatur rerum naturam imitari.' *Opera* 325; *Contarini* 148.

[67] *Opera* 326; *Contarini* 149.

analogy significantly enough to justify the exclusion of the 'common people' from participation in the government of Venice as citizens.[68] He said that many men were public or private servants and therefore could not be counted free men and citizens:

> ...for it is to bee beleeved that a living creature is not otherwise made of nature, then it is needefull that the citie should bee of men: for as in a living creature are many partes that have no life, yet the creature needeth them towardes the maintenance of life: so in a company of citizens, there is a necessary use of many men who neverthelesse ought neither to bee, nor to be reputed or placed in the number of citizens:...[69]

Contarini's fear of the rule of the common people justified the ordering of society in such a way as to ensure unity and stability. His second and more elaborate use of the analogy developed these themes. Describing the city as a 'certaine civill societie' which worked best as a unity and fell because of 'homebred discord and civill dissention'[70], Contarini noted that unity would best be ensured by placing a head in control of the whole. This head should have authority to bind the 'scattered and disjoynted' parts into 'one entire body' which was a reflection of: 'the constitution of the whole worlde, as also of this Microcosme or little worlde, which is Man'.[71] As the 'hart' comprised the unity or focus of the functions of the diverse parts of the body and thereby preserved unity, so one man could be appointed as:

> ...one head and superior, in whose heart shal rest principallie engraved, an especiall care to conserve the common good & the perfection of civill agreement...surely the same cannot long time continue, but drawing divers waies must needs fal to decay & ruine...[72]

Similarly, a man's body might die if one humour were corrupted or putrefied[73], and the commonwealth should likewise avoid usurpation by one 'part'. Such a fear of disunity

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[68] '...ne plebs admitteretur ad conventum hunc civium, in quo est summa reipublicae potestas.' *Opera* 268; *Contarini* 16.

[69] 'Etenim non dissimili modo a natura constitutum fuisse animal putandum est, ac civitatem ab hominibus constitui oportere. In animante vero multae sunt partes, quae animatae non sunt, illis tamen indiget animal, ut vivat: sic in civium coetu multis hominibus est opus, qui tamen minime partes civitatis aut esse aut haberi debeant, nec in civium numero collocari'. *Opera* 268; *Contarini* 16-17.

[70] '...civitatem civilem quandam societatem esse...Quo effectum est, ut discordia civilique dissidio, maximae & opulentissimae civitates brevi corrverint, funditusque eversae sint'. *Opera* 278; *Contarini* 37-8.

[71] '...unitas vero commode contineri non potest, nisi ab uno, qui multitudini civium ac universis magistratibus, quibus certe qaedam functiones sint demandatae, praesit, atque multitudinem quodammodo diffluentem colligat, atque in unum conciliet. quod philosophi summi ac praecipi naturae indagatores, cum in universi constitutione, tum etiam in microcosmo hoc, id est animali, animadvertere'. *Opera* 278; *Contarini* 38.

[72] '...ut unum quempiam praesidem velit, cui bonum commune omnium ac unionis civilis conservande cura precipue incumbat, quo uniuscuiusque civis, tum privati, tum magistratu fungentis, actiones, tanquam ad ultimum finem & precipuum referri debent: nimirum diutius non poterit conservari, sed in diversas partes distracta decidet'. *Ibid.*

[73] 'Divina quadam animi providentia a maiores nostri perspexere, quem ad modum in corpore humane quopiam, innumeri ac periculosissimi plerunque morbi accidunt...' *Opera* 295; *Contarini* 77.

in the body was the basis for Contarini's use of the 'eyes' analogy. Indeed, by its very nature, Contarini suggested, the human body would be corrupted and decline unless maintained by food. All things, however perfect, ought to be 'mended and renewed'.[74]

Contarini's debt to Aquinas (and possibly to the medical training which Padua University may have provided) was clear here as the scholastic had argued that the body of a man would disintegrate unless the parts were supervised by a 'general ruling force within the body'. The preservation of unity was at the heart of the good ordering of society, for without it the benefits of a social life were removed. He also considered man a microcosm of divine government.[75] Similarly, Aristotle used a body analogy to illustrate how constitutional change could arise when one faction became disproportionately great.[76] Contarini also applied the body analogy in his ecclesiological writing. In his 1537 work on Church councils he argued that man's body functioned as a result of the actions of the individual parts, so the hierarchy of the Church required a pontiff at its head who was served by the other parts of the Church such as bishops and cardinals.[77]

The Renaissance writer often revealed his political views by the nature of his use of the body analogy.[78] Thomas Elyot, for instance, enhanced the role of Henry VIII in English government by comparing the king's magistrates to his eyes, ears, hands, and legs. He believed that corruption of the political body was unlikely to originate in its head. By contrast, Thomas Starkey did not use body imagery, like Elyot, to glorify an individual sovereign, and he saw civil life as the combination of the people and the law in the same way that body and soul were united. He argued that the development of disease in the body must originate with the heart, that is the king, and he therefore proposed remedies to combat any such corruption. These remedies included the proper subjection of one part of the body to another and the removal of diseased parts. He cited the example of Italy where the division of the body politic had brought misery and confusion.[79] He proposed that the danger of tyranny in England might be avoided by the election of the prince by Parliament, and his supervision by a few lords, bishops,

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[74] 'Ita namque natura comparatum est, ut nihil inter homines perpetuum esse possit: verum cuncta quamvis initio perfecte constituta esse in deterius labente instauratione indigent:..' *Opera* 320; *Contarini* 135.
[75] Aquinas (1949) I, i, 8; I, ii, 17; II, i, 94.
[76] Aristotle (1986) V, iii. 1302b33.
[77] 'Verum, sicuti hominis anima multis indiget viribus, multisque membris, ut in totum corpus operetur, plurimasque functiones agat, quibus homo eget ut vivat, & bene vivat; sic Pontifex Ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae caput multis eget potestatis huius particibus...' *Conciliorum magis illustrium summa ad Paulum tertium Pontificem Maximum* in *Opera* 546-63: 547.
[78] P. Archambault, 'The Analogy of the "Body" in Renaissance Political Literature', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXIX (1967) 21-53.
[79] Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue Between Pole and Lupset*, (ed.) T.F. Mayer (London, 1989) 104.

judges, and wise men of London, at least in foreign policy. Venice was here cited as an example of a long enduring city of good order and government. No perfect prince would be found, and to avoid tyranny the laws should govern and the king's power be balanced by the Council headed by a revived Constable of England. He explicitly compared this system to that of Venice.[80]

The idea of the 'mystical bodies of human society' composed of contrary elements and humours like the body as a material form was used by Claude de Seyssel in his chapter on Venice in his *La Monarchie de France* (ca.1515). De Seyssel identified several 'evil humours' which might poison the 'mystical body' of Venice fatally. These included the patrician monopoly of wealth, foreign control of the Venetian military, and the subjection of Venetian cities and territories. De Seyssel, who accompanied Louis XII on his campaign against Venice in 1510, was a well-informed observer though not an impartial one. He wished to demonstrate that the monarchy of France was superior to any other state. He argued that it was a balanced form of rule which reconciled the king's legitimate privilege to rule with the claims of the nobility, bourgeoisie and third estate.[81] Niccolò Machiavelli, like de Seyssel, was concerned with the fact that political bodies, like man's, were subject to decomposition when they had run the course ordained for them by nature. Just as Machiavelli noted the constant decline of bodies and also praised the fact that Louis XII was checked by the power of the Parlements in France[82], so Contarini sought to justify the Venetian government as a well-balanced state resistant to decline.[83]

The themes of unity, harmony, and potential discord were further expressed by Gasparo Contarini's musical metaphors (which had also been employed by Marc'Antonio Sabellico). The treble was formed by the ducal office while the bass was formed by the 'popular' government of the Great Council. Both, united with 'a middle

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[80] *Ibid.* 112-13, 119, 123. Other uses of the body analogy may be found at 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 55-6, 100-03. See also T. F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal* (Cambridge, 1989); Robert Barrington, 'Philosophy and the Court in the Literature of the Early English Renaissance', (Unpublished European University Institute Ph.D. thesis, 1992) ch.8; John M. Najemy, 'The Republic's Two Bodies: Body Metaphors in Italian Renaissance Political Thought', in Alison Brown (ed.) *Languages and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995) ch.10.

[81] Claude de Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, (trans.) J. H. Hexter, (ed.) D. R. Kelley (London and Newhaven, 1981) ch.III.

[82] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, (trans.) L. J. Walker, S. J., (revised trans.) B. Richardson, (ed. and intro.) B. Crick (Harmondsworth, 1970; reprinted 1983) III,1.

[83] J. H. Hexter, *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation. More, Machiavelli, and Seyssel* (London, 1973) compares these writers and concludes that while Contarini lacks their clarity and political 'realism' nevertheless as a 'constitutional' writer he offsets the despair of 'utopian' and 'predatory' thought by maintaining the contact between virtue and reason, nature and justice: 218, 229-30. Interestingly enough, Professor Brian Pullan has written of how Contarini analysed society and state: 'in terms which sometimes seem frankly Machiavellian'. *Idem*, 'The Significance of Venice', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 56 (1973-4) 443-62: 452.

sort of Magistrates being betweene them both interposed [i.e. Senate and Ten], doth grow (as it were) into a wel concenting harmony of an excellent commonwealth...'[84] However, musical harmony could also turn to discord.[85] Discussing the role of the Senate in binding the two extreme parts or treble and base together, Contarini noted:

> ...that there cannot happen to a commonwealth a more dangerous or pestilent contagion, then the overweighing of one parte or faction above the other...For as every mixture dissolveth, if any one of the elementes (of which the mixed body consisteth) overcome the other: and as in musicke the tune is marred where one string keepeth a greater noyse then hee shoulde doe...[86]

So let all who were entitled have an equal share in public authority. The combination of elemental and musical metaphors was employed a little before this when Contarini again considered the mixture of royal, popular, and noble governments in Venice:

> So saith Plato [in *Timaeus*] are the extreame elementes, the earth and the fire, ioyned and bound together with the middle elementes, as in a well tuned dyapason the extreame voyces are concorded together by the middle tunes of Dyatessaron and Diapente.[87]

This idea of the elements could be related to the humours of the body and the cosmos. For Machiavelli, such humours guided the actions of both individual men and states and derived from the motion of the planets. Similarly, Marsilio Ficino believed that man was subject to the 'fateful law of heavenly bodies' guided by Providence. This caused the natural tendency to moral decline which, according to Machiavelli, could be combatted in states and humans by periodic renovations through law and punishment. Machiavelli, like Contarini and Ptolemy, saw that states and humans could decline. Like the human body the state needed self-renewal or it would corrupt and perish. The knowledge of the occasion and means of self-renewal were to be unfolded by a

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[84] 'Accedamus ad eam Reipublicae partem, quae veluti in fidibus ad constituendam consonantiam vox gravis proportione quadam acutae respondet, sic etiam specie quadam regia parti populari respondeat, ac demum in unum concentum optimae Reipublicae, iniectis mediis magistratibus, coalescat.' *Opera* 277; *Contarini* 36.

[85] Marcantonio Sabellico similarly remarked: 'Nulla in musicis armonia tam sibi ex omni parte respondet quam nostrae civitatis diligens administratio...' 'De venetis magistratibus liber unus' in *Opera* (Albertinum de Lisona Vercellensem, Venice, 24 December 1502) f.94v. He argued that a perfect concord resulted from each social order performing its role well, and did not derive from the equality of all people, but from the resolution of inequalities. Therefore the harmony of separate parts was the most concordant harmony.

[86] '...nam nulla perniciosior pestis in Rempublicam obtepserit, quam si quaepiam eius pars caeteris praevaluerit. ubi enim aequum ius non servatur, fieri non potest ut societas ulla concors inter cives consistat. quod non evenire solet ubicunque plura Reip. munera in unum conveniunt sic solvitur mixtum, si quodpiam elementorum, ex quibus corpus constat, alia superaverit: sic omnis consonatia dissonans sit, si fidem unam seu vocem plus intenderis quam par sit'. *Opera* 291; *Contarini* 67.

[87] 'Sic inquit Plato in Timaeo extrema elementa, terram ac ignem mediis diatessaron ac diapente vocibus, invicem nectuntur.' *Opera* 290; *Contarini* 65. See also Cicero (1928) 2, 42f; St Augustine (1972) II, 21 (quoting Cicero). Compare William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida* (ca.1602) I, iii, 75-137.

knowledge of both natural and supernatural things, i.e. the elements and the signs from heaven such as prophecy.[88]

While Contarini differed fundamentally from Machiavelli in accepting the ultimate divine plan behind nature and the earthly governance of man, nevertheless the parallels in the use of the idea of the elements as a basis of this governance; the belief in the 'natural' decline and corruption of men and states, and constant emphasis on renewal in terms of the maintenance of *temperamento* or 'temperature' in Venetian government are very interesting. This idea of 'temperature' was the key to good government for Contarini and, like Machiavelli, he believed that one of the principal means of maintaining it was by war. Unlike Machiavelli, Contarini believed that Venice was proficient in the art of war. In his *Discorsi* Machiavelli noted that Venice, like Florence, had acquired authority without power for she had expanded and acquired subjects rather than allies and she had not practised the military arts. He believed that she had acquired most of this land by financial and diplomatic means, and that her institutions were ill-adapted for war. It was therefore no surprise to him when Venice lost all her territorial gains in one battle.[89] Contarini refuted all of these suggestions in his work and he confidently allied Venice's 'temperature' of government with military success.[90]

The connection between the 'temperature' of government and war was indicated by two examples referring to ancient states. Contarini described how, despite the fact that many states had flourished in peace and war, nevertheless the 'multitude' had been unable to govern unless: 'there should be a temperature betweene the state of nobility & popular sort', ensuring unity and civil society.[91] Although the Spartan government had been made up of a 'certain mixture'[92] of king, ephors and senate, yet this mixture had been

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[88] Anthony Parel, *The Machiavellian Cosmos* (Newhaven and London, 1992) ch. 2, especially 32-3, 58.

[89] Machiavelli (1970) II, xix; I, vi; III, xxxi. Machiavelli also recognizes that among modern republics Venice is exceptional: *ibid.* I, xxxiv. He praised Venetian speed in handling emergency situations: *ibid.* I, xxxiv; he praised Venetian efficency in administering justice: *ibid.* I, xlix; and its continuity of government: *ibid.* I, 1. On Machiavelli and Venice see I. Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi dello stato veneziano* (Naples, 1974).

[90] In his dialogue *Della republica* (1538) Antonio Brucioli, considering military skill and the defence of republics, presents the Aristotelian case for the the aim of government being the achievement of happiness, and the importance of appointing heads of government who are drawn from among the 'mediocri'. However, the interlocutor Niccolò Machiavelli advocates Venice as a model of a republic which can defend itself from external attack and does not wish to expand its frontiers. Therefore, he argues, internal peace is assured. By contrast, the Aristotelian interlocutor argues the Machiavellian case for the necessity of the ability to defend and expand to avoid corruption of the civic temperament. Antonio Brucioli, *Dialogi*, (ed.) Aldo Landi (Naples and Chicago, 1983) 95-155, especially 118-9.

[91] 'Quo sit ut praeclarissimi philosophi, qui de reipublicae instiutione accurate scripserunt, temperandam rempublicam censeant ex optimatium & populari statu, eo adhibito temperamento, ut incommoda uniuscuiusque gubernationis vitentur, commoda vero comparentur.' *Opera* 267; *Contarini* 13-14.

[92] 'mixtionem quadam...' *Opera* 267; *Contarini* 14.

wholly concerned with war, and when they had been at peace the government had fallen apart.[93] Similarly, the defeat of Carthage by the Romans removed any outlet for the part of Roman society (i.e. the youth) trained up to war and it fell into civil war.[94] In contrast, he continued, the founders of Venice 'used such a moderation and temperature, and such a mixture of all estates'[95], and also ensured that 'warlike studies' were not omitted, although they were certainly less important than the study of peace. War therefore featured as a means of maintaining civil society and as an integral part of the 'temperature' of government. Contarini argued that unlike those of the Spartans, 'civile offices' should not be geared to war alone but :

> ...that governour of a commonwealth that would be accounted worthy of praise & (as the saying is) a man perfectly accomplished, ought to use that temperature, & to maintaine that order, that the whole commonwealth may seeme accommodated to vertue, and withall, that it bee rather thought to attend to the exercises of peace, then to the offices of warre, yet in the meane time not contemning such thinges as pertaine to the discipline of warres; because many times the militarie vertue (so that the same may be used without injurie) is necessary to defend and to enlarge the confines.[96]

Gasparo Contarini's concern for discord and harmony was here evidently bound up in his concern to assert the military competence of Venice, and it is not true to assert, as Felix Gilbert has, that: 'war and politics are almost entirely omitted' from the work.[97] Discord was created by the usurpation of nature and the creation of unequal 'temperatures'. Unity derived from a state being well 'mixed' and harmonious as the diapason or healthy body was. It was therefore considered very much a natural thing that men would be moved to war as well as to peace. He wrote of:

> ...those that have left unto their posterity the true directions of a commonwealth commended the use of both [i.e. managing wars and maintaining peace], to the end that in times of warre, they should not bee unfit for the exercises thereof, and that in peace they might live in honest exercises under the lawes and statutes of their Country. So that alwaies the

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[93] Thus Aristotle (1986) II, ix, 1271a37; Plato (1970) I init, & 666e, 688a, 705d.

[94] Sallust (1921) IX-XII traces the decline of Roman morals and destruction of virtue following the suppression of Carthage. Contarini certainly knew St Augustine's *Civitate Dei*, which reports Catiline's views: St Augustine (1972) II, 18, 24; III, 17, 28.

[95] 'Eam vero in hac repub. moderationem ac temperamentum adhibuere, eamque mixtionem omnium statuum...' *Opera* 267-8; *Contarini* 15.

[96] 'Quamobrem is reipublicae institutor, qui laude dignus haberi,& ut dici solet, omne punctum tulisse videri vult, eam moderationem adhibeat, ac eum ordinem tueatur, ut ad virtutem accommodata tota reipublicae institutio videatur: atque ad pacis functiones magis quam ad bellica unia spectare existimetur, bellicis interim & militaribus non neglectis. Nam plerunque & finibus tuendis & propagandis (dummodo id fine iniuria fiat) necessaria est militaris virtus'. *Opera* 265; *Contarini* 9. Aristotle (1986) VII, xiv. 1333a30-1333b37; II, vi. 1265a18.

[97] Felix Gilbert, 'Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini', in T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (eds.) *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: essays in memory of E. H. Harbison*, (Princeton, N.J., 1969) 90-116: 112.

> vertue and exercises of warre have a reference to the studyes of peace, as being of the two the most excellent & desirable.[98]

Indeed, as Plato said, man had been given 'a force and abilitie to be angrie' and to repel what he disliked. Venice had been moved to act virtuously in war and to use the 'vertue and exercises of warre' to avoid civil strife. Contarini was concerned to show that the training and exercise of youth in warfare had not been neglected by Venice as some people had alleged or as it might have appeared[99]: 'so that any man may easily perceyve, that the institution of our youth to warlike exercises (as some do suppose) neglected of our ancestors...'[100] Contarini charted the glory and success which the Venetians experienced first at sea before explaining that it had been called to invade the *terraferma* by the people who had felt themselves oppressed there. He noted that :

> ...after the commonwealth was once setled and established, the citie began to stretch and enlarge her dominion over the maine land of the province of Venetia, which as though it had never beene seperated from the same, returned willingly with a frank and liberall good will.[101]

Wishing to preserve their 'recovered freed[o]me and tranquilitie'[102] but not wishing to neglect the sea or send men to be trained on the *terraferma* who might later lead revolts as the Romans experienced, foreign mercenaries were employed by the Venetians. Bartolomeo Colleone was one such who had enlarged the Venetian empire while Venetians had concentrated on defending its sea approaches. This assertion of the importance of military virtue without excessive glory (although Contarini was proud to mention the slaughter committed by his ancestor in the Genoese war), and the acquiescence and even pleasure of the *terraferma* peoples in their conquest by Venice served to refute the critics like Machiavelli and de Seyssel who considered Venice's downfall in 1509 to have been earned by the neglect of just such measures. These factors not only ensured recovery from Cambrai but also the maintenance of internal peace and stability and the defence of Europe as a whole against the Turks. The idea of corporate unity and military victory were therefore tellingly combined in the image of Padua resisting Maximilian's siege. Contarini commented:

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[98] '...ideo qui recte Reipub. institutionem posteris tradiderunt, illud imprimis admonuerunt, ut cives institutantur ad utrunque munus, ut scilicet bello gerendo idonei sint, & domi in pace legibus subiecti institutisque patriis in praeclara aliqua functione vivant, ita utramque rem amplectentes, ut virtutes artesque bellicae referant ad studia pacis, tanquam ad potiora...' *Opera* 317; *Contarini* 128.

[99] *Opera* 298, 317; *Contarini* 83, 129. Perhaps Contarini was thinking of Machiavelli's views, either directly observed by Contarini or reported to him second-hand by Venetian and Florentine acquaintances.

[100] 'Quare facile intellegi potest, rationem institutendae iuventutis minime a maioribus nostris neglectam fuisse, ut nonullis videtur'. *Opera* 319; *Contarini* 134,

[101] 'Nam post constitutam rempublicam imperium Venetum extendi coepit in venetiam oram, quae ad veteres dominos veluti quodam postliminio volens ac libens rediit'. *Opera* 307; *Contarini* 104.

[102] '...prolato igitur imperio continentem praeterquam quod bonis legibus, & pacis studiis ii populi erant recreandi, qui nuper venerant in nostram societatem, danda etiam opera fuit ut tueri libertatem possent in quam se asserverant'. *Opera* 317-8; *Contarini* 130.

> ...by which equall temperature of government, our commonwealth hath attained that, which none of the former have, though otherwise honourable and famous, for from the first beginning till this time of ours it hath remained safe and free.[103]

Venice had not employed either violent force, armed garrisons, or fortified towers to accomplish this. The people of Padua themselves went to the defence of the town, and all lost cities were subsequently recovered. This assertion of military victory served to illustrate that the loyalty of the people of the *terraferma* was ensured by the 'temperature' of government in Venice. This passage followed Contarini's explanation of how the people who were excluded from office were kept loyal, and it preceded the final use of the body metaphor to glorify the patricians as the eyes of Venice and to warn against a popular usurpation of their position. The description of Padua's resistance to Maximilian was a triumphant assertion of Venetian values and Contarini's belief in the harmonious and unified state based upon divine and natural reason which possibly also served to compliment the man who recaptured the city, the recently elected Doge Andrea Gritti.

Gasparo Contarini can be accused of hyperbole in his description of the government of Venice. As far as Machiavelli's criticisms and Contarini's assertions about Venetian military skills are concerned, the historical evidence, according to current scholarship, is weighted towards the latter's side. Professor Michael Mallett has noted that a sense of responsibility for the *terraferma* and the need to defend part of it from the fifteenth century onwards contributed to Venetian determination to maintain a large army. Venice enjoyed greater success in doing so in comparison to Florence. The experience that Venetian nobles gained in naval warfare and through galley service meant that Venice maintained an easy relationship with her military captains. River fleets in Lombardy and cavalry companies were commanded by the Venetians themselves. Professor Mallett notes: 'To Florentines, soldiers were either potential instruments of tyranny or they were barbarous and depraved predators; to Venetians they were more or less efficient defenders of the state'.[104] It is interesting to note that Pietro Tron, the *savio sopra terraferma*, in April 1515, noting the involvement of young patricians in the war, proposed the election of 100 men at arms. By the following May his proposal had been scaled down to 50 men and his preamble ran:

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[103] 'Quo gubernationis temperamento respublica nostra id consecuta est quod priscarum nulla alioquin illustrium nam a primis initiis usque ad haec tempora mille ac ducentis annis tuta permansit, non tantum ab exterorum hominum dominatu, verum etiam a civili seditione quem fuerit alicuius momenti...' *Opera* 325; *Contarini* 146.

[104] M. Mallett, 'Preparations for war in Florence and Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century', in C. Smith (ed.) *Florence and Venice: comparisons and relations*. 2 vols., (Florence, 1979-80) I, 149-64: 161.

> No power, nor free republic can long conserve itself, nor increase its territory, if it does not at the same time possess forces and is instructed in military virtue. The innumerable documents of ancient republics and other great states show how in acquiring empire and prosecuting victories, they use a firm spirit and military training. Our Republic has always been most fond of peace although pushed to defend our liberty with arms, and with great difficulty through major expense and foreign and mercenary soldiers... [105]

By September 1515, Tron's further scaled-down proposal was finally rejected. Andrea Gritti, among others, suggested that the matter should be deferred until a more opportune occasion.[106]

Contarini's *De magistratibus* is at times slavishly faithful to Aristotle and St Thomas Aquinas, revealing the importance of his Paduan education in those authors. His work and reputation have suffered because of this lack of 'realism' which has been contrasted with the work of the Florentine civic humanists like Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini, or Donato Giannotti.[107] However, Contarini was a Venetian employed in the highest offices of state who clearly had an understanding of political reality in terms of the decline and corruption of states which he drew from classical sources and contemporary observation. His 1526 letter to Giovanni Battista Torre shows that Contarini had a very clear sense of historical change over very long periods. Moreover, the acute political comments of his ambassadorial dispatches redress the balance of the assessment of Contarini's political theory in favour of a Machiavellian realism about the force of political events in the short term, and the necessity of political expediency.[108] For Contarini, these historical forces could be contained within a divine hierarchy which functioned to allow man to achieve a happy Aristotelian life through the use of his virtue, which was compatible with a fully Christian one.

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[105] 'Nissun potentato mai, nè alcuna libera republica è possibile che longo tempo si conservi nonchè accresca nel stato suo, se non sono insieme et possenti di forze et di virtù militare instrutti; il che senza dubio si vede per innumerabili documenti de antique republiche et d'altri gran stati, i quali allora cominciorono acquistar imperio et conseguir ample vittorie, quando per fermo in animo si proposero di saper et di operar l'uso et exercito militare. Et la Republica nostra, quantunque di pace sia stata sempre amicissima, pur non di meno più volte è stà compulsa a guerra, et *cum* le arme in mano a defender la propria libertà, ancor che lo abbia possuto far *cum* extrema difficultà; imperocchè, quanto pertiene a le cose da terra, dove si fanno excessive spese, li soldati sono mercerarii et forestieri...' *Sanudo* XX, coll. 116, 185-6.

[106] *Ibid.*, XXI, coll.148-9.

[107] Hexter (1973) 218, 229-30. See also J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975) ch. IX.

[108] On Machiavelli and Guicciardini see Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: politics and history in sixteenth-century Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1965). On Contarini, *relazione*, and the 'aristocratic-realist' origins of the work see Angelo Ventura, 'Scrittori politici e scritture di governo', *SCV* 3/III, 513-63: 553-60.

When he served as Venetian ambassador to Clement VII in the aftermath of the Sack of Rome in 1527 he urged Clement VII to consider the spiritual condition of the Church as well as its temporal possessions. In his reply, the pope assumed the most extreme political realism and noted that only political schemers could reap rewards in his time.[109] However, Contarini could also observe in a dispatch in 1521 that Venice was squeezed between the rival powers of the Emperor and the French king, and that the Republic would have to choose between them.[110] His republicanism was a function of his Thomist Christian outlook as well as of his fear for the decline of republics in institutional terms. True to his Venetian and Paduan roots he described the moral and mechanical elements of the Venetian constitution. The fusion was unmistakably Venetian but it drew on debates and themes moving writers elsewhere, and in particular in Florence. Contarini's rebuttal of Machiavelli's criticisms of the Venetian state is almost point by point and indicates, if nothing else, that the parameters of debate about government were broadly shared by Florentines and Venetians. In order to deepen the understanding of this debate, and therefore of Contarini's place in it, it is very instructive to examine the Florentine-Venetian political axis from the Venetian point of view. The first half of this thesis has suggested how Florentine religious ideas were familiar to Querini and his friends, and that their Florentine contacts were important in their struggle for reform. The final chapters of this thesis will demonstrate that during the first half of the sixteenth century both Venetian views of Florence, and the presence of Florentines in Venice, contributed to awareness of Venetian political and historical particularity.

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[109] Gleason (1993) 52.
[110] PRO 31/14/70 Ath (7 November 1521) f.116r.

Chapter 8

Venetian Views of Florence and the Defence of Republican Liberty (1526-30)

'principali membri di Italia, anzi l'una il capo, l'altra il core'
- Florentine ambassador to Venice (1528)

i. 'The Florentines are not men of government'
Venetian-Florentine diplomatic relations, 1526-30

It is well known that Florentines were interested in the Venetian political system, particularly after 1494.[1] By contrast, Venetian views of Florence have been relatively neglected. In this chapter it is proposed that Venetian and Florentine writers, politicians, and diplomats were interested in the machinery of government of their fellow republics. This interest was certainly apparent in Florence from the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth century its expression was most pronounced during the periods when the Medici were either out of power, or dissatisfaction with their rule was at its height. To many Florentines, Venice offered a solution to the problem of maintaining stable government in a republic which was riven with faction. Venetian interest in Florence was relatively less acute until the two republics were allied by the Treaty of Cognac in 1526. This alliance stimulated Venetian and Florentine diplomats to express their admiration for each other's cities, and to celebrate the importance of republicanism and the necessity of the defence of Italy against the imperial hegemony of Charles V.

Venetian ambassadors in Florence produced a stream of dispatches and *relazioni* during the period 1526-30 which placed Florentines and Florentine institutions under close scrutiny. The study of these reports can not only reveal a great deal about how Venetians viewed Florence, but also of how Venetians regarded themselves, and particularly their governmental machinery. It is proposed that Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* can be placed in the context of these exchanges and discussions between Florentines and Venetians. By putting the work in this context for the first time[2], earlier conclusions about Contarini's view of society and

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[1] Felix Gilbert, 'The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought', in Nicolai Rubinstein (ed.) *Florentine Studies* (London, 1968) 463-500.

[2] Professor Franco Gaeta has suggested that Contarini's Florentine contacts may be important. Franco Gaeta, 'L'Idea di Venezia', *SCV* 3/III, 565-641: 641, n.248.

government will be confirmed or nuanced. Contarini and his friends emerge as a group with an extensive and passionate interest in the related questions of republicanism, and Italian and Florentine 'libertas'. These ideas were expressed and developed much earlier than has traditionally been believed, and often in the context of an Italian national feeling, or of an ideal of Christendom.

The circumstances of early sixteenth-century politics which left Venice an island of republicanism in a spreading lagoon of princely states do not need much reiteration. The list of violent or sudden changes of government which followed Charles VIII's descent into Italy in 1494 is a fairly extensive one. No part of the peninsula was left untouched.[3] Venetian control of her mainland possessions was severely disrupted between 1509 and 1518. Even after 1518, Venice continued to face the reality of Italian politics and diplomacy which left her claim to defend Italian 'libertas' weakened. Venice was becoming powerless to resist Spanish or French hegemony on the peninsula, as Contarini had recognized in 1522 when he declared that Venice could no longer continue to serve 'two masters' (France and the Empire), and must descend once again to the *Realpolitik* of a defensive alliance.[4]

The articulation of Venetian particularism with the concept of a unified Christendom which was dear to Contarini can be viewed as a post-classical phenomenon. After the collapse of the Carolingian Empire 'European unity could henceforward only mean the articulation - not the suppression - of ingrained regional diversity'.[5] For Italians such as Petrarch, as Denys Hay pointed out, the only unifying factor was hatred of the 'barbari' beyond the Alps. In the early modern period, Europe (that is, Western Europe) was increasingly contrasted with the non-European 'barbari' such as the Turks.[6] It is therefore very interesting in terms of a 'semantics of history' to examine Contarini's use of the concepts 'Venice', 'Italy', 'Europe', 'Empire', and 'Christendom' as political realities to be negotiated, or as ideals to be elaborated and achieved. Contarini's diplomacy sought to reconcile imperialist claims in Italy and Europe from 1494 onwards with Venetian independence and the idea of Christendom. He also struggled to reconcile the apparent uniqueness of the Venetian political system and history with a wider articulation of 'Italianità'.[7] It is revealing of broader historical

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[3] For a brief but suggestive overview of this matter see Federico Chabod, 'Venezia nella politica italiana ed europea del cinquecento', in *La civiltà veneziana del rinascimento* (Florence, 1958) 29-55.
[4] See above, ch. 6.
[5] Geoffrey Barraclough, *European Unity in Thought and Action* (Oxford, 1963) 7, 12-13.
[6] Denys Hay, *Europe: the emergence of an idea* (Edinburgh, 1957); Federico Chabod, *Storia dell'idea d'Europa* (Bari, 1962); *idem, L'idea di nazione* (Bari, 1962); John R. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1993) ch. I.
[7] This term has been defined as: '...a feeling or awareness of belonging to a certain cultural group characterized by a common language, literature, customs, manners, traditions and history, and

issues to note how Contarini's sense of himself as a Venetian was assimilated with his admiration for Florence. Of course, in discussing individuals or states one is concerned both with political concepts and realities, the interaction of the real and the ideal which is most often expressed in highly rhetorical terms.[8] In the sixteenth century 'Italy' and 'Europe' were complex ideas connected with an evolving concept of the nation, and rooted in medieval precedent.

In the fifteenth century the idea of 'Europaeus' had been used by the crusading Pope Pius II as a synonym for 'Christian'.[9] In the following century 'Europe' gradually replaced the idea of Christendom as the medieval 'respublica christiana', the territory inhabited by the Christians. The concept of Europe as a cultural entity distinct from the Russian and Ottoman empires also emerged at this time. Humanism spread a style and language which was common to all European states and the 'barbari' were no longer simply non-Italians, but anyone who lived outside of Europe.[10] Niccolò Machiavelli first described Europe in its political and secular form in a comparison with the Turkish organization of state in his *L'arte della guerra* (ca. 1519-21). The European states, he noted, were varied in their political structures and he contrasted them with the single despotism of the Turks. The struggle between Charles V and Francis I on the continent clearly raised awareness of Europe as a political entity, and had contributed to an awareness of national particularities. In his *Discorsi* (1516-20) Machiavelli contrasted the unity of France and Spain under one monarch with the political divisions of Italy. He proposed that the states of Italy form a league along Etruscan lines in which one state would dominate the others.

The Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini preferred to believe that a group of independent states could live in peace with one another, according to the principle of balance of power, without foreign interference. Such a system was generally thought to have prevailed under Lorenzo de' Medici in the fifteenth century.[11] Whether Contarini agreed with Guicciardini or not, it is clear that he viewed the political unity of Venice and the pacified condition of Italy as an important and necessary corollary to the spiritual unity of Christendom. His description of the Venetian political system viewed in relation to his ambassadorial duties between 1521 and 1530 is therefore

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differentiated in these respects from similar groups, an awareness shared by a socially important minority of the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula. It is a feeling of being "Italian", and living in a well defined geographical region called "Italia". Vincent Ilardi, "Italianità" among some Italian Intellectuals in the early Sixteenth Century', *Traditio* XII (1956) 339-67.

[8] Edgar Morin, *Penser l'Europe* (Paris, 1987) 89.

[9] Hay (1957) ch. 1.

[10] Teofilo Folengo (1496-1544) differed in lashing out against all 'Oltramontani': 'Barbaros vincis feritate turcos/bistones, moros, svisceros, todescos,/bestias, serpos, quot habet diabolos/ Belzebub orco'. Quoted in Ilardi (1956) 353.

[11] *Ibid.* 353.

interesting for what it reveals about the connection between political thought and action, spirituality and diplomacy.

By the year 1525 the concepts of 'Italia' and 'Libertà d'Italia' had become rhetorical commonplaces in Italy as imperial power on the peninsula reached its apogee with the humiliating defeat and capture of Francis I at the battle of Pavia.[12] This sense of unity lasted briefly, between 1525 and 1529, and found concrete political expression in the Treaty of Cognac which Clement VII began negotiating with Francis I at the end of March 1526. In August 1526 the Venetian Council of Ten advised Clement VII to trust Francis I rather than Charles V who, they observed, aspired to a 'monarchy' which would bring about the ruin of Italy.[13] Therefore, Venice reversed its recent diplomatic rapprochement with Charles V and allied with Francis I, the pope, and Florence. By this treaty, the signatories aimed to restore the Duchy of Milan to Francesco Sforza, and to send troops to Naples to apply pressure on the emperor.[14] Venetian forces - swollen to their greatest extent since Agnadello - captured Cremona and unsuccessfully attacked Milan. In 1526, Francesco Guicciardini, the papal governor, wrote of the importance of the siege of Milan to the whole of Italy's 'salute et libertà', which Venice had always held dear. He wrote soon after the capture of Lodi by Venetian forces that the pope and Italy owed the republic 'infinita obligatione'.[15]

There is evidence to support Guicciardini's view that Venice was wholly committed to the League. By the beginning of 1527 Venetian troops formed the substance of the League's army, and during 1528-29 the republic poured an unprecedented number of troops into the Milanese to help the French there. At the end of 1529 the Venetian army numbered 30,000 at a time when the republic was suffering from a combination of failed harvests, and outbreaks of typhus and plague.[16] However, forces allied with Charles V sacked the Vatican in September, 1526. The following spring, after initial success, the Naples campaign fell apart. German troops headed for Florence where they were deflected to Rome by the Venetians under the Duke of Urbino. Guicciardini

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[12] Judith Hook, 'The Destruction of the New "Italia" : Venice and the Papacy in Collision', *Italian Studies* XXVIII (1973) 10-30.

[13] '...che el Xmo. non possendo prestare fede al Imperator quale aspira a' la Monarchia non è da dubitar che'l faci acoreto cum detrimento de Italia che saria consentire a la Iactura & ruina soa...' ASV Cons. Secr. Reg. 1, f.74r (Deliberation of 1 August 1526).

[14] On Venice and the League of Cognac see Sanudo XLII, coll. 62-79 (public procession in Venice to celebrate the treaty); XLVI, coll. 239-40, 336-38, 321-22; XLVII, coll. 393, 470. See also F. Bennato, 'La partecipazione militare di Venezia alla Lega di Cognac', *Archivio Veneto*, 5th ser. 58 (1956) 70-87.

[15] Francesco Guicciardini, *Carteggi* (ed.) Pier Giorgio Ricci, 17 vols., (Rome, 1938-72) VIII, 232 (letter of 18 June 1526); 262 (letter of 25 June 1526).

[16] Michael E. Mallett and John R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice, c. 1400-1617* (Cambridge, 1984) 225-27.

wrote to Marco Foscari, Venetian ambassador in Florence, that the safety of Italy was dependent on the defence of Florence and he warned of the grave danger posed by the German troops on the road to Rome.[17] Guicciardini's analysis of the danger of the German troops was confirmed in May 1527, when they sacked Rome; an act which had enormous repercussions for the political and cultural life of Italy.[18] Although the question of the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia had quickly strained relations between the papacy and Venice, there is considerable evidence for the strength of the feeling of Italian unity in Venetian relations with Florence at this time, particularly when imperial troops besieged the city during 1529-30.[19]

Contarini was closely involved diplomatically in Venice's participation in the League of Cognac. In October, 1527 he was sent to Duke Alfonso d' Este of Ferrara to secure his adherence to the League.[20] Soon after this successful mission he was appointed as ambassador to the beleaguered Clement VII. As Professor Gleason has remarked:

> ...the letters and instructions from the Senate and the Doge Andrea Gritti together with Contarini's replies [during his 1528-30 embassy to Clement VII] give a good idea of how Venice attempted to deal with the new political realities of an Italian peninsula whose fate was increasingly determined by the large European territorial states.[21]

Doge Gritti's letters to Contarini during 1528-30 were initially concerned with Clement VII's attitude towards the anti-Habsburg league of Venice and France. Gritti was well-known for his pro-French and anti-Imperial views which had sometimes caused Contarini discomfort during his embassy to Charles V.[22] Gritti noted that with Francis I's help there would be 10,000 infantry as well as a suitable number of galleys which would be used for Venetian defensive and offensive purposes.[23] By 17

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[17] Guicciardini (1938-72) vol.XIII, no.36, 55 (Letter from Bologna dated 14 March 1527.)

[18] André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, (trans.) Beth Archer (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Judith Hook, *The Sack of Rome, 1527* (London, 1972).

[19] It is significant in this context that this period saw the publication of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), Baldassare Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (1528), and Giangiorgio Trissino's *Castellano* (1528), which associated the idea of Italian national unity with a common Italian language. See Carlo de Santis, 'Latin versus Vernacular in Renaissance Italy. The development of the controversy with special reference to Carlo Sigonio's *De Latinae linguae usu retinendo* (1556)', *Rinascimento* XXXV (1995) 349-71: 352-60.

[20] Sanudo XLVI, coll. 239-40.

[21] Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini. Venice, Rome, and reform* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1993) 49.

[22] Titian's battle scene commissioned for the chamber of the Great Council in Venice in 1513 (and only completed in 1537) may have been changed at Gritti's behest to show the defeat of Maximilian's troops at Cadore. Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic* (London, 1969) 179-82: 182; E. Tietze-Conrat, 'Titian's "Battle of Cadore"', *Art Bulletin* XXVII (1945) 205-08; Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 3 vols., (London, 1969-75) III, 45-52, 225-32.

[23] The 'ducali' are damaged by water and unreadable in places. They have been restored and are preserved in BCV, cod. Cicogna 3477. See, in this case, the letter of 10 November 1528.

February 1529 Gritti was concerned about Charles' possible intention to come to Italy, and the galleys, ships, and arms which he was preparing for this event in Spain.

Charles' imminent arrival provoked a storm of debate and a feeling of high expectation in Venice. In March 1529 Marco Foscari argued in the Senate that if Charles came into Italy, Francis I should be exhorted by the new Venetian ambassador to France, Andrea Navagero, to come with his forces and impose a crushing victory.[24] This important debate continued over the following month.[25] Alvise Mocenigo opposed such a proposition and reminded his fellow patricians of the events of 1495 when Charles VIII of France wished to destroy Venice, and the republic had therefore made a league with the emperor, the Duke of Milan, Pope Alexander VI, and the kingdoms of Spain. The Spanish had offered to come into Italy but the ambassadors were advised to dissuade them from such an action. He urged Venice to act in a similar fashion now.[26] Opposing Foscari's proposition on 2 April 1529, Lorenzo Loredan cited Virgil and Petrarch, no doubt with a view to celebrating Italian unity in the face of ultramontane interventions.[27] However, there was also a strong current of prophetic writing revived at this moment favouring a French intervention against Charles.[28]

Any hopes for the fulfilment of such prophecies were dashed in August 1529 when Francis I concluded a peace with Charles V by the Treaty of Cambrai. Gritti's instructions therefore changed tack considerably, and on 26 September 1529 he advised:

> ...whenever you happen to discuss these considerable matters with anyone, you ought to indicate our desire for peace and for the affairs of Italy to be tranquil and peaceable. Nor will we avoid any honest and suitable conditions of peace with the Emperor to whom we are are naturally most inclined.[29]

Throughout his mission Contarini was concerned with the condition of Italy, particularly Venice and Florence, and he warned Clement VII that Italy would be

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[24] Sanudo L, col. 54.
[25] *Ibid.* coll. 58, 59, 62, 103.
[26] *Ibid.* col. 58.
[27] *Ibid.* col. 103.
[28] Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, (trans.) Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, N.J., 1990); Sanudo LI, coll.33-4 (15 July 1529).
[29] '...che ogni volta che vi accadi parlar de li cum alcuno in proposito delli occorrentie, et monumenti punti, voi dobiar continuar in far larga [two words illegible] desiderio nostro di Pace et che le cose de Italia se redugino in tranquillita, et quieti: ne mai per noi star[c?]a che non abbracciamo ogni honesta et conveniente conditione di paci cum La Ces.a [one word illegible: Maestà?] alla qual naturalmente siamo inclinatissimi'. Letter of 26 September 1529. BCV, cod. Cicogna 3477.

ruined by its enemies.[30] He appealed to Clement to act as peacemaker in Europe and in doing so to set spiritual ideals above temporal gain.[31] Gasparo Contarini's shared concern for Florence's symbolic and actual position in Italy was forcibly expressed to Clement VII at Rome in January 1529. He warned the pontiff of the great ruin which would come to 'la christianità' if Florence were destroyed. The pope ought to: 'lift the shield to sustain this Christian Republic [i.e. all of Christendom] which was acquired through the blood of Christ', and he urged the pope to work for the good and liberty of Florence.[32]

The Treaty of Barcelona and Clement's agreement to crown Charles V at Bologna came as a further blow to any papal pretensions to independence or power in Europe which Contarini might have wanted to encourage. Venice was concerned to prevent any further growth of imperial power in Italy, and Contarini was sent to Clement VII and Charles V in Bologna charged with restoring an Italian, Duke Francesco Sforza, to Milan.[33] He again urged Clement to consider Florence, then besieged by imperial troops. Writing from Bologna at the end of October 1529, Contarini observed: 'The rest of Italy can be considered as a body, and it is not possible to damage one part without damaging the others'.[34] This concern was again apparent in his letter to Carlo Cappello of July 1529 in which he reported on the agreement reached between the emperor and the pope. These latter had conspired to 'tyrannize' Florence by means of an accord rather than by arms. However, he noted that Florence had the means to resist and even ruin the enemy if she armed herself. In this way the Florentines will: '... conserve themselves and Italy with immortal glory'.[35]

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[30] Gasparo Contarini, *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542)* (ed.) Franz Dittrich (Braunsberg, 1881) 5 September 1528, 34 (no. 103).

[31] *Ibid.* 4 January 1529, 41-46 (no. 126). See Gleason (1993) 52-53 on Contarini's spiritual concerns at this point. There is no record of Contarini's reaction to the Sack of Rome which would no doubt be very instructive. His *relazione* of 1530 is not helpful in this regard and in fact may merely be a précis of a longer report. Matteo Dandolo, Contarini's brother-in-law, reported that when Contarini heard of the Sack of Rome he refused to take up the captaincy of Brescia because he was afraid of war and dearth. Julius Pflug, *Correspondance*, (ed.) J. V. Pollet 2 vols., (Leiden, 1969) I, 25, n.54. An anonymous manuscript which may be the source of this information is reported as asseerting that illness and the wish to avoid the tumults of war were the reasons for Contarini's decision: Gleason (1993) 40, nn. 176 and 178.

[32] 'Io alhora caldamente ripresi il parlare pregando S.Sant., che vedendo la ruina de la christianita et che da un picol principio hora si potria venir in grandissima ruina, devesse poner le spalle ad sustenir questa republica christiana, la qual era pur stata acquistata cum il sanguine de Christo, del qual S.Sant. era vicario'. Gasparo Contarini to the Venetian Senate. Contarini (1881) 4 January 1529, 30 (no.88); letter of 13 July 1529, 60 (no. 190).

[33] Gritti instructs Contarini that help must be given at every opportunity to the Duke of Milan: 'essendo cosi tenuti per la mutua Intilligentia, et union s'abbiamo insiemi...' Letter of 26 September 1529. BCV Cod. Cicogna 3477.

[34] Contarini (1881) 31 October 1529, 70 (no. 227)

[35] '...contra la quale si machina, come vedemo, et per la qual ogni animo gentile die pocco spezzare la vita non che lo interesse de la robba et de la facoltà. Et la machinatione di costoro e de sottometterli et poi tyrannizarli al modo loro piu presto per via d'accordo che di arme, perche discorrendo bene a me non pare che possimo temmere, se non manchino a se medesimi...Pero harano modo non solamente de

However, when news of the agreement between Clement and Charles at Bologna reached Venice, Gritti advised Contarini that it had been greeted with joy and happiness. He instructed Contarini to congratulate Clement VII on the league which was necessary 'to the common affairs of Italy, vexed for so many years by so [one word illegible] and pernicious wars'. Contarini should also tell Charles that he could not have done anything more pleasing to Venice in reconciling the powers of Italy, a peace and union which Venice would fervently perpetuate. It was certain that having 'settled and composed' most of Italy Charles could '...achieve a more glorious and triumphant victory than any previous conquerors achieved with arms'.[36]

In his 1530 *relazione* of his mission to Clement VII Contarini commented coolly that 'the Republic and all other allies were excluded from this peace'. He noted that Clement had never demonstrated much love for Florence, rather the opposite, and now that 'povera città' was besieged by imperial troops in his name. Indeed, Contarini judged Clement's preference for Venice over Charles V and Francis I to arise out of the Florentines not naturally being inclined to Venice.[37] However, Venice and the papacy did consider how the siege of Florence could be ended. In June 1530 the Council of Ten agreed with Clement that it would be dangerous for the rest of Italy to allow the city to fall into imperial hands. The Ten agreed to urge the Florentines to come to some agreement with Clement.[38]

The placing of the two cities within the context of concerns for European, Italian, and republican freedom is therefore a faithful representation of the political outlook of

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resistere al nemico et mantenirse, ma anchora de ruinarlo, quando non manchino a se medesimi et si armino gagliardamente. Et cosi cum immortal gloria si conserverano loro et Italia et costoro ritroverian [i.e. 'rimanian' according to Gleason (1993) 51, n.229] inganati del pensier loro, perche, come ho tocco di sopra, essi pensano di sbigotirli cum queste voce et cum la spada in vagina sottometterli, il che essi Cesarei chiamano accordarsi et per l'accordo cavarli de mano una bona summa de danari, cum li quali, perche de li sui ne hanno carestia, possino ben armarsi et ponersi a camino...[Naples and Milan are] cità tanto propitie et favorende al nome Cesareo, che da essi si pol dir esser proceduta tuta la exaltation di Cesare in Italia. Et in verità la experientia puole chiaramente dimonstrare al ognuno, che Cesarei molto piu hanno nocuto et sono per nocer alli amici loro che ali inimici'. Gasparo Contarini to Carlo Cappello. Contarini (1881) 16 July 1529, 57-8 (no.183).

[36] '...alle commune cose di Italia, vexata per tanti anni da si [one word illegible] et perniciosa guerra.'; 'sedata et composta'; '...far accessione a quella de molto maggior gloria et triumpho cha ogni altra victoria che cum arme la passi conquistares...' Letter of 28 December 1529. BCV Cod. Cicogna 3477.

[37] '...per la quale fu esclusa questa illustrissima Repubblica, e tutti gli altri confederati'. Eugenio Albèri (ed.) *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 15 vols., (Florence, 1839-63) Ser.II, vol.III, 257-74: 263, 265, 266.

[38] 'Et tanto [one word illegible] vedemo sua Sta. esser desyderosa de questo [one word illegible] che apresso la ruina da essa cita qual' e ' pericolo che siegui 'la se dubita et de quello exercito che ottenendo essa cita non fermi in quella el piede 'ce fazi de quelli altri disegni & effecti che potriano tardar la tranquilita, che per gratia de Dio' Mediante la pace nostra é inclita nel resto de Italia...' ASV Cons. X Secr. Reg.3, ff. 65r-v (Deliberation of 20 June 1530).

Venetian patricians at this moment in the age of the Italian wars.[39] Marcantonio Coccio (Sabellico) in his *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita...* (1487) inserted a stirring speech about Florentine-Venetian confederacy and Italian liberty in the face of external tyranny in the mouth of Doge Francesco Foscari who declared: 'As all of Italy says with one voice: the moment that Florentine liberty is lost, then Philip [Sforza, Duke of Milan] will invade Venetian lands'.[40] This theme was taken up by Venetians and Florentines during 1525-30, and whatever hostility there had been between the two cities during the fifteenth century was conveniently forgotten by the Florentines. For their part, some Venetians continued to aim criticism at Florence while others embraced the cause of Florentine confederacy and liberty with gusto as imperial troops laid siege to the city.[41]

Bartolommeo Gualtierotti, the Florentine ambassador in Venice between 1528 and 1530, also linked the loss of Florentine liberty with the causes of Italian and republican freedom. He addressed the *collegio* on his arrival in Venice in April 1528. Gualtierotti's speech began with a grand exposition of the creation of the harmonious natural world by God in which he described the clockwork motion of all things acting in accord with the laws of His eternal wisdom. This wisdom had proportioned all things so that those who were unequal were nevertheless united and did not oppose one another. This was the basis of the different species of animals. Similarly, the human species was inclined by nature to be pacific and tranquil, according to the availability of land, which had been free in the age of gold. However, this instinct had been corrupted and he cited the twelve Hebrew tribes who lost power when they fought one another. Indeed, when the Spartans and Athenians were united they had achieved glorious victories over the Persians. When they began to fight with one another, they all fell into servitude.

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[39] For ambassadorial reports: Marco Foscari in Angelo Ventura (ed.) *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato* 2 vols., (Rome, 1976) I, 89-184; Antonio Surian in Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol.V ; Carlo Cappello in *ibid.*, ser.II, vol.I, 99-318; V. Fedeli in Sanudo LI: coll. 476, 615, 616; LII: coll. 137, 215, 244, 292, 327, 345, 379, 461, 500, 539, 565, 583, 584; LIII: coll. 7, 62, 248, 391.

[40] 'Quod omnes Italici generis uno ore praedicant: Eam diem quae Florentinis libertatem ademerit: primam Venetos invadendi Philippo futuram...' Marcantonio Sabellico, *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita...* (Andrea Torresano, da Asola: Venice, 1487) sig. xiiiiv. More conveniently, see the same passage in *M. Antoni Coccii Sabellici. Historiae rerum venetarum ab urbe condita. Libri XXXIII. In IV Decades distributi...Basileae...MDCLXX* ['MDCLXIX' on frontispiece], decade 2, book IX, 360-61.

[41] For Florentine criticism of Venice ca. 1472, see G. Degli Azzi, 'Un frammento inedito della cronaca di Benedetto Dei', *ASI*, 110 (1952) 99-113. For *Quattrocento* Venetian criticism of Florence, see Hans Baron, 'The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Mocenigo (1414-23): Their Date and Partial Forgery', *Speculum* XXVII (1952) 323-42. For Venetian views of Florence after 1537 see Gino Benzoni, 'Profili medicei di fattura veneziana: Cosimo I, Francesco I, Ferdinando I', *Studi Veneziani* n.s. XXIV (1992) 69-86.

Gualtierotti then turned to Italy in his own time (although he noted in passing the depredations of the Goths, the Vandals, and the Herulians). The examples of Hannibal and 'long experience' had 'demonstrated that it was impossible to conquer Italy with any power other than its own, and [only] when the spirits of Italians are inclined to discord and disunion'.[42] Therefore, this internal dissension had led to the imposition upon Italy of 'the yoke of barbarous servitude'. The remedy for this, he asserted at last, was a league and union of Florence and Venice to preserve the liberty which the other Italian states had lost. This union would also lead to the salvation of the rest of Italy from imminent danger, particularly as Venice and Florence were respectively the 'head' and 'heart' of Italy.[43] He noted that many times in the past Venice and Florence had been allies against tyrants like the Scala and Visconti. Therefore, this confederation should continue. He presumably discounted the importance of Rome after the shock of 1527, or subsumed it within Florence and Medicean power.

Unfortunately for these pious hopes, of all the signatories of the Treaty of Cognac, Florence experienced the most pronounced reversal of fortunes between 1527 and 1530. Venetian ambassadors to the city during this period have left detailed and uncompromising accounts of their missions. They provide a useful way of assessing Venetian patrician views of Florence at this time, and in particular the way in which they concurred or disagreed with Gualtierotti's sentiments. In them there is also a sense of the Venetian chauvinism which manifested itself in a rather critical view of Florentine government. If these criticisms (which must have pleased a Venetian audience) were mixed with admiration for the Florentine spirit and achievements, nevertheless the assumption of Venetian commentators between 1527 and 1530 was that Venice, not Florence, was the superior partner in the cause of republican government and liberty.

At the beginning of 1527 Marco Foscari was elected as ambassador to Florence, Contarini coming second in the ballot.[44] Foscari, who was a cousin of Andrea Gritti, had held public offices since 1499, including a spell as ambassador to the papal court between 1523 and 1526.[45] He was associated with the most powerful patrician families as well as figures such as the historian and papal functionary Paolo Giovio

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[42] '...la lunga experientia li havea mostro che era impossibile vincere Italia con altre forze che di lei medesima, et quando li animi italiani sono inclinati alla discordia et disunione.' Sanudo XLVII, coll. 228-232: col. 230 (14 April 1528).

[43] 'el giogo della barbara servitù'; 'principali membri di Italia, anzi l' una il capo, l' altra il core'. *Ibid.* XLVII, coll.228-232. Also XLVII-XLIV, *ad ind.* Savonarola sometimes described Florence as the head or the heart of Italy: Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: prophecy and patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1970) 68, 169.

[44] Sanudo XLIII, col. 647 (14 January 1527). Foscari received 142 votes in his favour, 70 against. Contarini received 100 votes in his favour, but 106 against.

[45] Sanudo *ad ind.*; Ventura (1976) I, pp.XLIII-XLVI.

and Francesco Guicciardini.[46] Shortly before his election as ambassador he had held a sumptuous banquet in Venice for Lorenzo di Giovanni de' Medici, Jacopo Salviati's son, and other Florentines who had been exiled in the city since the end of 1526.[47]

Foscari certainly had friendly relations with the Florentine writer Donato Giannotti, who lent him the autograph manuscript of Niccolò Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine* (completed in February 1525, and presented to Clement VII in the following June).[48] At three points in his *relazione* of March 1528, Foscari referred explicitly to Machiavelli's views on points of historical detail.[49] It is also possible that Foscari's scholarly and detailed *relazione* gained in its insight of Florentine constitutional practice from Donato Giannotti or Jacopo Nardi (later a leader of a faction of the anti-Medicean exiles in Venice), to whom a manuscript written for Foscari has been ascribed, and possibly also from Giannotti's discourse on the Florentine political system.[50] Certainly, in its depth and breadth of classical and Italian sources (Livy, Ovid, Virgil, Aristotle, Dante, and the medieval chroniclers are all cited) Foscari's *relazione* is a *tour de force*. He incorporated the anonymous work on the Florentine constitution almost completely into his *relazione* which he delivered, probably in the form in which it has survived, over four hours in March 1528.[51]

Like Carlo Cappello, who became Florentine ambassador in 1529, Foscari was well-acquainted with Florentines and probably well-disposed towards the city at a time when it addressed a statement of confederacy with Venice, declaring itself 'certainly quick to protect the common liberty of Italy, for which, with the greatest dangers, it

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[46] Paolo Giovio, *Pauli Iovii Opera*, (eds.) G. G. Ferrero *et al*, 11 vols., in progress (Rome, 1956-) vol.1: 233; vol. 2: 4; vol. 5:5.

[47] 'In questa sera, sier Marco Foscari padre di domino Hironimo episcopo di Torzello, stato orator a Roma, fece uno banchetto bellisimo alla cortesana in arzenti...Hor vi fu donne, sier Marco da Molin procurator et altri patricii. Fu soni, canti, comedie; conclusive bellissimo pasto'. Sanudo XLIII, col. 616. Also *ibid.* XLIV, col. 23.

[48] Letter from Giannotti to M. A. Michiel dated 30 June 1533 in L. A. Ferrai, 'Lettere inedite di Donato Giannotti', *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti.* Ser. VI, III (1884-85) 1570-1584: 1582.

[49] Ventura (1976) I, 106, 130, 134.

[50] Randolph Starn, *Donato Giannotti and his Epistolae* (Geneva, 1968) 26n., suggests that 'N' may be Jacopo Nardi or the Florentine Chancellor, Giovanni Naldini (who was in Venice in November, 1531: see Appendix 1), rather than Giannotti. The letter 'N' may also merely be a contraction of 'nostro'. More recently, it has been shown by textual analysis that the *Scrittura* contains passages which are very similar to Giannotti's Florentine discourse. It is therefore possible that Giannotti composed the anonymous *Scrittura* ca. 1528, and that Foscari used both *Scrittura* and discourse in 1528 and 1533, when Giannotti also lent him Machiavelli's manuscript. At the same time Giannotti was enlisting Foscari's help in the composition of the Venetian discourse. See Gigi Corazzol, 'Per l' attribuzione a Donato Giannotti della *Scrittura di N. Secretario della Repubblica di Firenze*', in G. Benzoni *et al* (eds.) *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi* (Vicenza, 1992) 187-92.

[51] Sanudo XLVII, coll. 62-64 (9 March 1528). But Ventura (1976) I, pp.LIII-LVI suggests that Foscari partially re-worked the text in 1533-34 in response to a continuing interest in Florentine republicanism.

will never fail to obey and expend its blood, and even its life'.[52] On the very day of his election, the Venetian government delivered an address to Florence in which it described how the two cities had shared a common cause in ancient and modern times.[53] Foscari later remarked that he was elected 'in a time of very great importance'.[54] However, as a 'papalista' and a friend of Clement VII and other Medici he looked on the revolution of 1527 coolly, although he was opposed to imperial intervention in Italy and in 1529 he argued that the French king should be invited into Italy to defeat the emperor. In 1537 he advised Filippo Strozzi, the leader of the Florentine exiles opposed to Medici rule, against a military assault on Florentine forces.[55] His domestic political persuasions were clear in 1539 when he was one of the supporters of a more restricted form of government in Venice.[56]

Foscari departed for Florence very promptly and the Venetian government soon received a letter from Daniel de Lodovico, Foscari's secretary, which recorded Foscari's warm welcome in Florence. Sixty Florentines had come to greet him at the Pazzi palace one mile from the city. Thence he was conducted to the Pazzi palace in Florence itself.[57] Soon after Foscari's arrival in Florence, the government of the Medici was challenged in the 'Friday tumult'. Foscari observed in a letter to his son that: 'The cause of this tumult is said to be that many youths wish to carry arms'. He noted their attachment to Venice: '...they cried in the Palace [of the Signoria] : "France, France" and "Mark, Mark", saying that they wanted their friendship, but that they did not want the Medici'.[58] In May 1527 Foscari described the return to the 1512 form of government (a *consiglio* of 1500 and a *gonfaloniere* for life) to the satisfaction of the whole city.[59] However, he was quickly informed by Francesco Vettori, in response to the Venetian's questions, that the *gonfaloniere* would be elected for only one year. Vettori's view was that the Sack of Rome had aggravated the Medici's problems in the city so that they could no longer sustain themselves there. However, he affirmed that Florence would continue in confederation with Venice.[60]

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[52] '...certe alacriores ad protegendam comunem Italiae libertatem, pro qua non pigebit unquam summa quaeque obire pericula sanguinemque et vitam etiam impendere'. Sanudo XLIV, coll. 31-33: col. 31.
[53] *Ibid.* XLIII, coll. 648-49.
[54] 'in tempo de grandissimo importanza'. Ventura (1976) I, 91.
[55] Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo I de' Medici e la Indipendenza del Principato Mediceo* (Florence, 1945; reprinted 1980) 45.
[56] Ventura (1976) I, pp.XLIX-LI.
[57] Sanudo XLIII, coll. 747-48 (28 January 1527).
[58] 'La causa di questo tumulto è stata, che molti gioveni voleano portar le arme...'; '...cridavano in palazo: Franza, Franza et Marco, Marco, et diceano che voleano la amicitia de questi, ma non voleano Medici'. *Ibid.* XLIV, col.581.
[59] *Ibid.* XLV, coll. 136-38 (16 May 1527).
[60] *Ibid.* XLV, coll. 139-40.

The revolution of government which Foscari witnessed clearly influenced his attitude to Florence, and led him to consider the nature of government there and elsewhere. Foscari began his *relazione* to the Venetian Senate by considering the importance of good examples of government to the rulers of other states. He stated that 'good and true senators' were those who loved the republic and used reason to maintain its deliberative and judicial functions.[61] Rather more Machiavellian is Foscari's description of the way in which the love of the citizens for their republic and its officers could be either servile or filial. In the filial relationship the citizen would love all of the republic's actions, knowing them to be good for them. Alternatively, a republic would treat its citizens like dogs who would be faithful no matter what punishment was meted out. The implication was that the Medici government had failed either to govern reasonably or with sufficient force. Foscari explained that his embassy to Florence had been a trial as it was a 'factious, tumultuous, and dangerous' city, and he had returned home more faithful to Venice than ever.[62] He argued that the Florentine example, like that of Greece for the Romans, could serve to improve Venetian government.[63] In particular, he analysed Florentine factiousness which he blamed on the nature of the Florentines themselves and of their involvement in 'merchandising and manual and mechanical arts, and other base pursuits'. He noted that these activities were incompatible with Aristotle's definition of the occupations which were compatible with the exercise of virtue.[64]

Foscari did manage to praise the situation and climate of Florence and its natural and man-made fortifications.[65] He observed that the city fulfilled Aristotle's six qualities for good government in terms of its piety, victuals, industry, arms, income, government, and law. However, he noted that Florence could not remain stable in government. In order to understand why this was so he examined the Guelph-Ghibelline struggle and Florence's early experience of external tyranny and internal discord. He observed haughtily:

> It is certain, most excellent lords, that some Just wrath of the Lord God, for some great sin of this city, is the reason why these Florentine gentlemen have never remained in the same state. They have not been content with the government which they have had, they never rest, and it appears that this city is always desirous of changes of government; in this

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[61] 'buoni e veri senatori'. Ventura (1976) I, 89.
[62] 'faziosa, tumultuosa e pericolosa' *Ibid.* 91.
[63] *Ibid.* 92.
[64] 'mercanzia ed arti manuali e mecaniche ed altri vili essercizi'. *Ibid.* 103.
[65] *Ibid.* 93-95.

> way no form of government has lasted more than fifteen years, as they themselves say, and as is found written. [66]

With the help of Machiavelli's history Foscari noted the *status quo* which had been established for forty years after 1382. He traced the rise of the Medici, paying particular attention to the support of the 'poveri', and the way in which the Medici consolidated their power, despite plots in 1466 and 1478, by means of control of decisions and the *parlamento.*

Foscari's analysis of the origins of the revolution which had taken place since 1527 therefore placed much of the blame on the poor management of factions by Cortona and Clement VII. The anti- and pro-Medicean factions, drawn from all sections of Florentine society, had both been alienated and Florence had deviated from the lines of ordered government set down by Aristotle in his *Politics.* Therefore, as the Medici had ruled in an increasingly 'absolutist' way with private consultations, enemies had not been appeased by office. He described the role of the 'giovani' in the Friday tumult[67], as well as their resistance to a restricted government which led to the *Consiglio Grande* of 3500 and Niccolo Capponi's election as *gonfaloniere.*[68] It is revealing of Foscari's own moderate republicanism that he praised Capponi warmly for preventing the declaration of the Medici as rebels with the concomitant confiscation of goods and the destruction of their palaces.[69]

It was Foscari's view that the *piagnoni* (opponents of the Medici who were associated with Savonarola) and *palleschi* (pro-Medicean) factions should unite to overcome the *arrabbiati* (who opposed any compromise with the Medici during 1529-30) and place government in the hands of 'primari e nobili cittadini' - although he did not suggest that they should be drawn from the Medici or their supporters exclusively.[70] Although Foscari recognized that Florence was strategically important to Venice, he expressed less concern for Florentine 'libertas' than Carlo Cappello.

At the conclusion of his *relazione*, his allegory of the ideal republic as a well-tended garden was employed only to celebrate Venice. Like Contarini, Foscari described

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[66] 'E certo, eccellentissimi domini, qualche iusta ira del signor Iddio, per qualche gran peccato di quella cittá, è causa che quelli signori fiorentini *nunquam in eodem statu permanserunt*, non se hanno mai contentato del governo hanno avuto, non reposano mai, e pare che quella cittá sempre desideri mutazione di governo; di modo che non ha mai durato una forma di governo piú d'anni 15, come lor medesimi dicono e come anco se trova scritto'. *Ibid.* 125.
[67] *Ibid.* 139-42.
[68] *Ibid.* 145-46.
[69] *Ibid.* 164.
[70] *Ibid.* 168.

how, by the Grace of God, Venice had produced excellent fruit in the form of its magistrates who were concerned with the proper regulation of money, justice, and the *terraferma.* The implication was that the Florentine republic was weak and sterile in these respects.[71] Foscari's approach was in accord with the contemporaneous declaration by Florence of Venetian-Florentine common interests in the defence of Italian 'libertas'.[72] However, Foscari had not observed any 'good friendship or love' towards Venice in Florence, and there were rather feelings of fear and jealousy. Thus, the Florentines adhered to Venice out of 'personal concern' rather than from 'love'.[73]

Foscari's successor, Antonio Surian (who knew Contarini in Padua in 1503[74]) was elected to the post of ambassador in November 1527, and arrived in Florence by the following February. He served there for one year.[75] His *relazione* was delivered in May 1529 and lasted three hours.[76] Surian was acquainted with Donato Giannotti and later appealed to Clement VII on his behalf while in Rome as ambassador for Venice (1529-31).[77] Surian repeated most of Foscari's observations. He wrote:

> I found this excellent republic, as I have left it, in a state of recovered liberty, of which the Florentines have not ceased to mourn of being deprived since 1434 until now; in which time the Medici family, by the wisdom of Cosimo and Giovanni his father, acquired authority over all the other families of Florence or, as we wish to say, as they also say, tyranny.[78]

With an interlude between 1494 and 1512, the Florentines calculated that their servitude had lasted about ninety years. The Medici were expelled because of Cortona's bad government, and Ippolito's deputies, as well as because of the pope's misfortune.[79] However, Florence had less to fear from the return of the family as the male children were dead. Surian noted that the present government would probably not last long since from the foundation of the city no government had lasted twenty years together. This was because of the 'popular' nature of government, and because

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[71] *Ibid.* 179-80.

[72] Sanudo XLIV: coll. 31-33.

[73] 'buona amicizia né amorevolezza'; 'proprium...affectio'. Ventura (1976) I, 170-71, 173.

[74] Surian and Contarini were witnesses to Andrea Mocenigo's examination at Padua on 12 August 1503: Elda Martellozzo Forin (ed.) *Acta Graduum Academicorum ab anno 1501 ad annum 1525* (Padua, 1969) 83-4, no. 247.

[75] Sanudo XLVI, coll. 327-28 (26 November 1527), 585 (7 February 1528).

[76] *Ibid.* L, col. 311 (10 May 1529).

[77] Giannotti's letter of January, 1531 in Starn (1968) 72.

[78] 'Trovai quella eccelsa republica, sí come *etiam* l'ho lassata, in stato della recuperata libertá, della quale non cessano li fiorentini dolersi esser stati privi dal 1434 finora; nel qual tempo la famiglia de' Medici, per la sapienza de Cosmo e Iovam suo padre, acquistò sopra tutte le altre famiglie de Firenze auctoritá o vogliamo dire, come loro *etiam* dicono, tirannide'. Arnaldo Segarizzi (ed.) *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato* 3 vols., (Bari, 1912-16) III, part I, 99-122: 100.

[79] *Ibid.* 103.

those who were involved in the 'mechanical arts' could not know the method of true government. In addition, ancient hostilities continued to rip Florence apart so that many people had said to Surian that Florence should once more be ruled by a foreigner.

Like Foscari, Surian described the Guelph and Ghibelline factions in Florence and identified the factions of the *palleschi*, *arrabbiati*, and *piagnoni*. He classed the citizens of the city in three groups - the 'grandi' or ancient nobles reduced in number who fought amongst themselves; the 'nobili' or newer families; and the 'plebei'. He also observed a recently formed faction of 300 'giovani nobili' which had arisen as a result of the institution of the new militia. These men were opposed to the government of Capponi which admitted too many Medici supporters for their liking. In a letter of November 1528 Surian mentioned a group of the 'popolo' of 18 to 24 years of age who had taken up arms.[80] This was the group which formed the armed and dangerous youth he identified in his *relazione* and which formed part of the militia of men aged between 18 and 36. Surian, like his successor Cappello, viewed the role of these young men in a negative light. Their part in Florentine dissensions served to highlight the stability of Venetian government, based as it was on a gerontocracy.

Carlo Cappello's embassy coincided with Florence's moment of supreme crisis in 1529 and 1530. Cappello (1492-1546) was educated by Marcus Musurus (who was also Contarini's teacher) and it has been asserted that Cappello frequented the circle of Contarini, Giustiniani, Querini, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, and Paolo Canale. However, there is no evidence to link Cappello to any of those figures except Contarini (and then, only in 1529).[81] Still, he shared their tastes: he was attracted to poetry and spirituality. In 1537 he published two sermons concerned with moral reform and spirituality[82], and in 1544 published another work on a similar theme. Yet, he was principally a public servant, holding official posts from 1515 until his death. Florence was his first ambassadorial appointment.

It is not clear whether Cappello had already been to Florence, but his ambassadorial dispatches, in which he mentions a friend in the 'consiglio degli ottanta'; a mutual

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[80] Sanudo XLIX: col. 146 (8 November 1528).

[81] The principal biography of Cappello is by Angelo Ventura in *DBI* 18: 768. Giovanni Battista Egnazio only mentions Bernardo Cappello (Carlo's brother) in his compilation of exemplary figures in history. See *Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii, viri doctissimi, De exemplis illustrium virorum Venete civitatis, atque aliarum Gentium...Aldus. Parisiis. Apud Bernardum Turisanum, via Iacobea, sub Aldina Bibliotheca, 1554.* f.218v. However, he also fails to mention either Contarini or Querini here.

[82] *Caroli Capelli, apud serenissi. Romanorum, Hungariae, Bohemiaeque &c. Regem Ferdinandum, Reipublicae Venetae Oratoris. Sermones Duo. De iusta Dei Contra nos indignatione et ira* (Pragae per Ioannem Colubrem, 1537).

friend of Luigi Alamanni; and 'due amici' early on in his mission, suggest that he had some established contacts in the city.[83] In July 1522 he had sheltered Luigi Alamanni and Zanobi Buondelmonti who had fled Florence after the discovery of a plot against Giulio de' Medici.[84] Alamanni wrote to Giambatistta della Palla at the French court, where they hoped to gain favour that '...in this place we are not only extremely secure, but honoured and welcomed...' Alamanni instructed Palla to direct his letters to Cappello.[85] Antonio Brucioli, who accompanied these exiles to Venice, later made Cappello (together with Nicolò Dolfin) an interlocutor in the 1544-45 edition of his dialogue 'della clemenza'.[86] In the absence of any direct contemporaneous evidence it is impossible to assert that Cappello's association with Brucioli dated from 1523 or how far Cappello was part of a conjunction of political ideas from Florence and Venice.[87] At the very least, Cappello's dispatches reveal his intense admiration for Florence during the period of its most beleaguered defence of republican liberty.

Cappello was elected orator to Florence at the beginning of 1529, and after delays caused by his lack of funds, he made his official entry into Florence in April 1529.[88] He quickly explained his commission to the recently elected *gonfaloniere* Francesco Carducci who responded with warm support for the continuing confederation of the two republics. Cappello then addressed the French ambassador and the *Dieci di libertà* and expressed his desire to see Francis I defend Italy against imperial aggression, to support the league in Puglia, and to help the siege of Milan. In return, Cappello confirmed that Venice would continue to aid the league in Puglia. Cappello judged that with the help of Surian and the French ambassador he had demonstrated to the Florentines what would be the great benefits arising from such a course of action. According to Cappello, 'the true foundation of the freedom of Italy depends upon the desired good outcome of the siege [of Milan]'. However, he added with a touch of realism that Venice could not support all the expenses of the defence of Milan on its own.[89]

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[83] Albèri (1839-63) ser. II, vol. 1, 112, 115, 126.
[84] Benedetto Varchi , *Storia fiorentina* 3 vols., (Florence, 1857-58) I, 394; *DBI* 18: 768-69.
[85] '...in luogo dove non solo siamo sicurissimi, ma molto et honorati et accharezzati...' Letter from Venice dated 21 July 1522 in C. Guasti, 'Documenti della congiura fatta contro il cardinale Giulio de' Medici nel 1522', *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* III (1859) 121-50, 185-232, 239-67: 142, 143. See below, chapter 9.
[86] Antonio Brucioli, *Dialogi.* (ed.) Aldo Landi (Naples and Chicago, 1983) 341-6.
[87] As Angelo Ventura has in *DBI* 18: 769.
[88] Sanudo XLIX, col.343 (election on 9 January 1529); *ibid.* XLIX, col. 441 (expenses for four months agreed); *ibid.* L, col. 128 (Cappello leaves Venice); Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol. 1, 100-04 (Cappello's official entry into Florence on 24 April 1529).
[89] Albèri (1839-63) ser. II, vol. 1, 103.

Cappello's letters, which make a record of events until August 1530, describe his continuing attempts to secure Florentine aid in Puglia and Milan.[90] As rumours of Charles' imminent arrival in Italy and Francis' possible accord with him came and went, Cappello, no doubt concerned with Venice's practical political position and territorial integrity, continued to emphasize the importance of preserving the 'libertà d'Italia' as well as the danger of Charles V's coming into Italy.[91] However, the Florentine government seemed to Cappello more inclined to consider its self-preservation first and foremost. Cappello reported that Francis I had assured Carducci that he would never abandon the city. Nevertheless the city's *pratica* was in the process of obtaining money in preparation for Charles' arrival in Italy, which seemed certain by the end of May 1529.[92] Cappello's unnamed informant remarked:

> I am a good Italian, and I wish for the quiet of Italy which will only follow if we are united, but these discussions are not to your satisfaction and will result in an unacceptable conclusion. The accord between the most Christian king and the emperor will most certainly follow, the king does not seek anything more assiduously. Remember the League of Cambrai - I recall it.[93]

At first, Cappello reported, the Florentines did not believe that Charles would come to Italy, but he knew for certain that he would as a result of information from a friend in Avignon.[94] He followed Venice's instructions and warned Florence not to trust Charles[95], and urged them to gain victory by means of their confederacy, and to provide for their own defence.[96] He impressed upon the Florentines Venice's singular affection for Florence and the importance of the league - 'on which depends the common freedom of Italy'.[97]

On 29 June 1529 Clement VII agreed to Charles' terms by the Treaty of Barcelona. Charles granted Milan to Francesco Sforza for life and undertook to establish the Medici in Florence and to encourage various towns in the papal states to return to the pope's allegiance. Clement was to crown Charles V in Italy and invest him with the kingdom of Naples. By mid-July 1529 Cappello was writing in admiration of

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[90] *Ibid.* 106-318 (30 April 1529-13 August 1530).
[91] For example, *ibid.* 109, 113-14.
[92] *Ibid.* 122-23. On 6 August 1529 Venice began raising money for its defence: Sanudo LI, coll. 265-73.
[93] 'Io sono buon Italiano, e vorrei la quiete d' Italia, e conosco che non può seguire se non unitamente, ma questi sono tratti da renderne mal soddisfatti di voi e fare il fatto proprio. L'accordo tra il re cristianissimo e Cesare certissimamente seguirà, nè il re desidera nè cerca altro con maggiore studio. Ricordatevi della lega di Cambrai: io mi vi ritrovai'. Albèri (1839-63) ser. II, vol.1, 122.
[94] *Ibid.* 123, 131.
[95] *Ibid.* 134, 150-53, 205.
[96] *Ibid.* 171-72.
[97] '...dalla quale dipende la comune libertà d'Italia.' *Ibid.* 158.

Florence's preparations to resist any danger, as they had strengthened Pisa, Livorno, Cortona, Arezzo, and other fortresses with men and artillery.[98] Florence and Venice were further isolated on 5 August 1529 when Francis I and Charles signed the Treaty of Cambrai by which France renounced all claims to Italy and sovereignty over Flanders and Artois. Charles in turn renounced his claim to Burgundy.[99] After the news of the Franco-imperial accord had reached Florence Cappello wrote that the Florentines had begged him 'almost with tears in their eyes' that Venice should not abandon the city. He quoted one Florentine saying: 'We are ready to do all that we are capable of, indeed to die with our arms in our hands at the wall for the defence of our homeland. We know that what you have said is very true - that our conservation rests on our own vigorous defence'.[100]

As Charles and his troops advanced into Italy from Genoa towards Bologna, Cappello reported that he was at pains to persuade the Florentines not to trust Charles. Indeed, if their ambassadors came to an agreement with him he told them, that would result in 'the collapse of their freedom'.[101] Cappello's secretary, Vincenzo Fedelo (who was later an ambassador to Florence[102]) particularly admired the Florentine spirit at this point. He wrote to his brother in September, 1529 describing the activities of the Florentines preparing to defend their city:

> God preserve us from the cruelty of the barbarians; woe to us if they enter by force!...For my part, I judge that here is reduced the sum of all of the liberty of Italy. God may govern everything, preserve us from evil, and keep you in health.[103]

He also reported how Cappello had kept his son with him in Florence as a demonstration of his lack of fear, and to show that Florence need not lack faith in Venice. He reported Cappello declaring robustly: 'I have here my goods and my son, and I have 3000 ducats to lose, besides what may happen to me, and I am not afraid;

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98 *Ibid.* 158 (11 July 1529). On the 14 July 1529 news reached Florence of the Treaty of Barcelona. *Ibid.* 164.

99 See the Venetian ambassador's letter from Cambrai of 8 July 1529: Sanudo LI, coll. 171-75; also the letter from Florence to the Florentine ambassador in Venice describing Florentine difficulties at the Cambrai negotiations: *ibid.* col. 201.

100 'Noi siamo non solamente per esporre tutte le facoltà nostre, ma eziando per morire, noi vecchi istessi, con le armi in mano alle mura e per difesa di questa patria, e conosciamo quello che voi sempre ne avete detto essere verissimo, che la conservazione nostra è posta nella sola e gagliarda difesa'. Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol.1, 200. Cappello himself remarked admiringly that 'ogni ricchezza è posta nella conservazione della libertà pubblica...' *Ibid.* 177.

101 '...la jattura della loro libertà...' *Ibid.* 208. Note also *ibid.* 205-08.

102 His 1561 *relazione* of that mission is in *ibid.* 321-83.

103 'Iddio sia quello ne preservi de la crudeltà de barbari, quali se vi entrassero per forza *veh nobis*!...Io per me iudico che qui sia reduta la summa del tutto et la libertà de Italia. Iddio sia quello che governa il tutto, et ne preservi da male, et voi tutti conservi sani'. Sanudo LI, col.615.

your country, preserving itself, will preserve the wealth, the wives, and the sons, as well as its own liberty'.[104]

The Venetian state was rather less optimistic about Florence's chances and had begun to come to an accord with Charles. The Florentines complained that Venice had merely offered words of support and nothing else to the city, complaints which added to Cappello's discomfort in the city after the bombardments had begun.[105] The letters of both Fedeli and Cappello are full of praise for the spirit and conduct of the Florentines in defence of their 'libertà'.[106] In a letter of November 1529, Fedeli enclosed two epigrams by Cappello in praise of Florence which he judged to be both very beautiful and truthful. In the first, Cappello called Florence the 'Invictam...urbem', and in the second he wrote of how Mars bade farewell to Rome because he saw how in beleaguered Florence he would be strengthened and honoured.[107] During the siege, Cappello's letters became infrequent. However, he continued to praise Florence's desire to preserve its liberty[108] while he himself suffered personal privations[109], and attempted to present Venice as a friend and supporter even after it had signed an accord with Charles.[110]

Despite all of his difficulties compounded by Venetian inaction, Cappello seems to have been respected by both pro- and anti-Medicean factions of the nobility in Florence. In July 1530 he wrote that his mission :

> ...is said to be universally very pleasing, that many of the nobles, both those who support the present government and those who have affection for the Medici, came to me privately and thanked me for my words...[111]

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[104] 'Io ho qui la mia roba et mio figliol, et ho da perder per 3000 ducati, oltra quel che mi potria acascar, et non temo; dovete patria vostra, la qual preservando, si preserva la facultà, le moglie et li figlioli et la propria libertà'. *Ibid.* coll. 616-17.

[105] Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol.1, 230, 232, 249-50, 264-65.

[106] Cappello's in *ibid.* 234, 238-39, 245, 253-54; Fedeli's in Sanudo LII, coll. 137-38, 215-16, 244, 327-31, 345-46, 379. Cappello noted on 23 January 1530 that the Florentines had decided to resist Clement's desire to place a restricted number of nobles in charge in the city: Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol.1, 267.

[107] 'Mars dum multiplici insultantia castra triumpho/ despondent animos qua regit Arnus ait:/ Roma, vale, mea Roma olim, nunc tempus in omne/ floreat hic robur, nomen, honosque meus'. Sanudo LII, coll. 330-31 (letter dated 26 November 1529).

[108] Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol.1, 272, 275-76.

[109] *Ibid.* 284-85, 297.

[110] *Ibid.* 296, 308-09. By this time the city was starving:*Ibid.* 294-95.

[111] '...è stato tanto univeralmente gratissimo, che molti dei grandi, sì di quelli che vogliono il presente governo come di quelli che hanno affezione a' Medici, mi sono venuti a trovare privatamente, e rendendomi infinite grazie del parlar mio...' *Ibid.* 310 (20 July 1530).

He sent his last letter from Florence on 13 August 1530, one day after the siege had ended[112], and gave his *relazione* in Venice at the beginning of December. Sanudo's short summary of it merely records: 'And he concluded that the betrayal of Malatesta Baglione caused the loss of the city, and that the Florentines are not men of government...'[113]

The diplomats' expressions of concern for liberty demonstrate that Venice and Florence were associated as republics in its defence. However, an antithesis of Florentine flux and Venetian stability in government was reinforced by these necessarily biased observers. Venice was the superior partner in the relationship developing after 1494, with a good measure of Florentine admiration for Venetian institutions thrown in.[114] For both it is possible to identify a crisis in sixteenth-century views of government and society.[115] Professor Quentin Skinner has noted how the Ciceronian ideal of *negotium* was challenging the idea of *otium* or withdrawal. As a response to a deep spiritual crisis in Italian society, Christian humanists strove either to reform the Catholic Church from within, or to achieve more stable governments inside the framework of a divine and Aristotelian hierarchy.[116] Contarini's work on Venice has traditionally been seen as the classic exposition of this approach.

ii. Contarini and Florence

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112 *Ibid.* 311-18.

113 'Et concluse, il tradimento di Malatesta Baion [i.e. Baglione] à fatto perder quella città, et che fiorentini non sono homini di governo...' Sanudo LIV, col. 151. Albèri is therefore wrong to suggest that Cappello did not present a *relazione* of his mission: Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol.1, 98. On 7 January 1531 Cappello was elected ambassador to England and departed on his mission on 25 May 1531 where he arrived in August, and remained until 1535: Sanudo LIV, coll. 221, 443.

114 Traditionally, Jacob Burckhardt has been credited with the classic modern formulation of the Florence-Venice, flux-stability, antithesis in his 1860 work: *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: an essay*, (trans.) S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1951)40. However, the Scottish historian William Robertson presented a similar antithesis in his famous introduction to the *History of the Reign of Charles V* (London, 1769), published separately as *The Progress of Society in Europe*, (ed.) Felix Gilbert (Chicago, 1972). He follows Machiavelli quite closely in his description of Venetian military defects, but he considers the constitution admirably balanced for an aristocracy, but oppressive to those excluded: 104-06. He goes on to note: 'The constitution of Florence was perfectly the reverse of that of Venice. It partook as much of the democratical turbulence and licentiousness, as the other aristocratical rigour'. 107. On Florentine admiration for Venice see principally Gilbert (1968b); Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli antichi e altri saggi* (Milan and Naples, 1987) ch.V; and R. Pecchioli, 'Il mito di Venezia e la crisi fiorentina intorno al 1500', *Studi Storici* III (1962) 451-92. Pecchioli argues that mid-fifteenth century opposition to the Medici family in Florence henceforward coincided with admiration for Venetian institutions.

115 Rudolf von Albertini, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, (trans.) Cesare Cristofolini (Turin, 1970; reprinted 1995) 139-40 views this crisis of government in Florence in 1529-30 as marking the beginning of the 'modern age' in which the corporate identity is replaced by an individualistic political identity.

116 Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1978) I. This view is supported by Ronald K. Delph, 'From Venetian Visitor to Curial Humanist: The Development of Agostino Steuco's "Counter" - Reformation Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly* XLVII (1994) 102-39.

The crisis of *virtù* in government which the force of events and *fortuna* had provoked after 1494 inclined many writers towards idealism and faith in aristocratic rule either in the form of mixed governments or monarchy. Renaissance men hoped to regain control of events by means of ideal constitutions, laws, or action. It is possible to view Contarini's *De magistratibus* very profitably as an expression of an Italian, indeed European, crisis in government, and not simply as a piece of Venetian propaganda. There are many more sides to the work than have traditionally been credited to it. While Professor John Pocock may be correct when he calls its view of Venice a phenomenon of Elizabethan 'political science fiction' (it is that, at least for Elizabethan England), it seems more likely that for contemporary Italians, Contarini's work was a practical contribution to a lively debate which was principally carried on by Florentines and Venetians.[117]

In Venice after Agnadello, there can be identified a variety of approaches to the crisis of government in practical and theoretical terms, to which the example of Florence and the ideas of Florentines contributed. Angelo Ventura has identified a struggle within the Venetian patriciate between those who wished to reform the Venetian legal system in ways which strengthened their oligarchical interests, and those who wished to resist such reform. He argues that these reforms would have meant that men with greater educational and political resources could have better control of judicial structures. In addition, Doge Gritti's election had raised fears of an imperial style in government.[118] Gaetano Cozzi certainly views the failure of the legal reform as an indication that the entire patriciate feared a derogation of the principle of equity, and a dilution of the characteristic Venetian empirical approach.[119] Angelo Baiocchi has placed these debates within the context of a struggle within the Venetian and Florentine ruling classes to define their rights. He sees this process as involving the theorization of political techniques, and the conviction of the superiority in technical, qualitative, and behaviourial terms of men of noble birth and education.[120] The events

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[117] J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975) 325. On the connection between 'virtù' and 'fortuna' in Machiavelli's works, see *ibid.*, ch.VI.

[118] Robert Finlay, 'Politics and Family in Renaissance Venice: the Election of Doge Andrea Gritti', *Studi Veneziani*, n.s.II (1978) 97-117; on Gritti as icon see Gaetano Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani: politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Turin, 1982). Agostino Beazziano's poem on Clement VII comparing the pope with Augustus Caesar contains these lines on Gritti: 'Quo nec consilio melior, nec iustior unquam/Sceptra tenere manu potuit, rerumque; potiri/...Novit enim patriae imperio concordia tecum/...' J. Gruterus (ed.) *Delitiae Poetarum Italorum*, 2 vols., (n.p., 1608) I, 338. Sanudo noted that Gritti commemorated his four years in office with a mass at the church of SS. Job and Bernardino: 'nè mai più solita farsi niun Principe'. Sanudo XLV, col. 141.

[119] Gaetano Cozzi, 'Considerazioni sull'amministrazione della giustizia nella repubblica di Venezia (secc. XV-XVI)', in C. Smith (ed.) *Florence and Venice: comparisons and relations*, 2 vols., (Florence, 1979-80) II, 101-33.

[120] Angelo Baiocchi, 'Considerazioni sul rapporto tra cultura e politica a Venezia e a Firenze tra quattro e cinquecento', in *ibid.*, II, 55-71.

of 1525-30 certainly seem to have heightened awareness among educated Florentines and Venetians about the dangers of internal dissension and external force. This awareness was probably sustained and influenced by the contacts between these two groups of men, as the example of Contarini suggests.

Contarini's attachment to Florence and his friendship with individual Florentines were initially due to his relationship with the hermits Tommaso Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini who retired to the monastery at Camaldoli. Through them he met Raphael Pitti and Cosimo Rucellai who had been among those in 1512 who had plotted for the downfall of the Soderini government.[121] Another opponent of Soderini, and a close associate of the Medici, was Giovanni Corsi. Corsi dedicated translations of minor works by Plutarch in 1511-13 to Palla Rucellai, Vincenzo Querini, Francesco da Diacceto and Francesco Vettori.[122] In 1522 he met Contarini at the court of Charles V where he was sent as Florentine ambassador. As fellow ambassadors with these friends in common Contarini and Corsi were drawn together, and the Venetian noted that he was 'a man in truth endowed with learning and all good qualities'.[123] Contarini's first visit to Florence had coincided with a period of deep unpopularity with Medici rule and, although he rejoiced at Giuliano de' Medici's return to Florence in 1512, he was probably aware of the political views of men like Corsi.[124]

Felix Gilbert has observed how Florentine aristocrats such as Corsi and Rucellai, until 1512 excluded by Savonarola's reforms and Soderini's government from employing the usual means of gaining power such as marriage and kinship, were forced to convince the groups involved in the government that a restored aristocratic regime would be the best form of government in theory and in practice.[125] Corsi and his friends who were involved in the political discussions at the *Orti Oricellari* during this period advocated a restricted aristocratic government along Venetian lines. After the restoration of Medici rule in 1512, Corsi was less directly connected with these

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121 See above, chs. 3 and 5.

122 *DBI* 29: 567-70; 568.

123 PRO 31/14/71 Madrid (4 April 1525) f.207r. See also *ibid.* ff. 138r, 164v, 176r, 190v; BMV It. VII. 1009, ff. 405v, 417r. In 1538 Contarini wrote to Piero Vettori in Florence to thank him for providing a copy of the index of the Medici library: BL Ms. (F) 10, 275, ff. 81r-82v (16 March 1538). Contarini visited Florence in 1515 and again in 1541 when he was on his way from Rome to the colloquy of Regensberg. There he met the young Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. In a letter from Bologna to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese he described the duke: 'Certo è gentilissimo, ha a Firenze fama di molto bono et di essere senz' alcun vitio, ha bono ingegno, nè ha però quell' eccesso di calore, che sogliono havere li giovani di sua età'. Contarini (1881) 145-6, no. 554 (letter dated 12 February 1541). He addressed a letter to the duke on 14 March 1541: *ibid.* 155, no. 608.

124 See above, ch. 5.

125 Felix Gilbert, 'Bernardo Rucellai and the *Orti Oricellari*: A Study on the Origin of Modern Political Thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949) 101-31.

discussions, but Professor Kristeller argues that he maintained his political views.[126] His political influence on Contarini is more likely than that of Thomas More, whom Contarini also met during his embassy and warmly praised for his scholarship in a dispatch of 1521, and again three years later. While More's *Utopia* was certainly known by 1524 in the Paduan circles with which Contarini had some contact[127], Contarini's description of the Venetian republic relies more upon systematic excursions into the political theories of Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas, and the examples of ancient and modern republics, than upon the highly individual and moral conception of More.

Corsi (and even More, who helped to suppress the 1517 London apprentices' riots) would have agreed with Contarini's *De magistratibus* in its concern with the danger of the overthrow of states by the rule of the people. It was a commonplace of political writing by the sixteenth century to deplore the idea of a pure Aristotelian democracy, and Contarini approved of the exclusion of artisans and servants from participation in Venetian government.[128] More contentious for Florentines used to Medicean political patronage, was the precise role of the aristocracy in government deliberation and execution. Venetian institutions could serve as the focus for Florentine debates about this matter. In 1522 a plot to overturn the Florentine regime aimed to replace it with a Venetian style of government which diminished Medici control of the major offices of state, and to widen the base of government.[129] It is interesting to note that while Contarini and others could praise Venetian institutions with reference to Aristotle, in 1513 the Florentine authorities uncovered a plot to assassinate Giuliano de' Medici which was planned, they were at pains to note, by men who 'sometimes...read Aristotle's *Politics* which discusses the rule of cities'.[130] Clearly, the association

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126 P. O. Kristeller, 'Un uomo di Stato e umanista fiorentino: Giovanni Corsi', in *idem, Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* 3 vols., (Rome, 1956-93) I, 175-90.

127 Contarini dined with More in Bruges in August, 1521 and described him as 'uno cavalier Englese molto letterato'. On this occasion he was concerned to extract information about Wolsey's negotiations with Charles V: PRO 31/14/70 Bruges (19 August 1521) f.74. They must have met again in June, 1522 when as royal councillor More greeted Charles V on his entry into London. More must have made an impression for in a conversation in Madrid with the Archbishop of Capua more than three years later Contarini described More as 'learned and amiable': PRO 31/14/71 Madrid (1 December 1524) f.164v. Contarini is not mentioned in More's correspondence. More's *Utopia* (1516) was certainly known in the Paduan circles of Bembo (and therefore Contarini) by February, 1524 when Niccolò Leonico Tomeo wrote to More requesting a copy of *Utopia* in exchange for a book of his own (probably his edition of Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia*): D. De Bellis, 'La Vita e l'ambiente di Niccolò Leonico Tomeo', *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova* XIII (1980) 37-75: 56 & n.64. More's influence on Contarini's work is suggested by Felix Gilbert, 'Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini', *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: essays in memory of E. H. Harbison*, (eds.) T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (Princeton, N. J., 1969) 90-116:114-5.

128 *Contarini* 16-17.

129 Guasti (1859) 245.

130 '...qualche volta...leggevano la Politicha d' Aristotile che parla del ghoverno delle città'. Quoted in J. N. Stephens and H. C. Butters, 'New Light on Machiavelli', *English Historical Review* 97 (1982) 54-69: 67.

between Aristotle and governments of a more 'democratic', or at least less oligarchic nature, was made by the Florentine authorities in a way which does not seem to have occurred in Venice.

Professor William J. Bouwsma has argued that the Venetian articulation of itself as 'a self-conscious republic of the Renaissance type', even if it was similar in kind to the fifteenth-century Florentine experience, arose much later because Venice was protected from the political crises which had troubled Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He argues that Venetian republicanism owed little or nothing to Florentines in Venice at least until after the middle of the sixteenth century.[131] Professor Bouwsma has argued that a work such as Donato Giannotti's treatise on Venice showed a greater historical realism than the defensively conservative works of Venetians after 1500. However, he also notes that the experience of Florence between 1527 and 1530 served as an acute historical warning to Venice and to Venetians such as Marco Foscari.

In this way, Professor Bouwsma's suggestion of the importance of Venetian traditions of freedom and difference in a society of conformity, taken together with the role of foreign nationals and exiles in Venice may be highlighted in the political discourse of the first half of the century more than he believes possible.[132] That Florence served at least as a warning to Venice is made explicit by Marco Foscari, the Venetian ambassador to Florence during 1526 and 1527. He observed that: 'That republic [of Florence] is not to be greatly esteemed on account of the divisions among the citizens and discords, and the ease with which government changes, and the natural timidity [of the people]...' Nevertheless, Foscari added that is was important to have Florence's friendship since without it Venice would stand alone against the imperial forces in Italy.[133] Similar considerations may have motivated Contarini and Carlo Cappello, the Venetian ambassador in Florence, in their concern for the preservation of the liberty of Florence against imperial control in 1529 and 1530.[134]

It has also been noted that the historical examples of Rome and Sparta were important to Italian political writers in the sixteenth century. The association of liberty and

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[131] William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance values in the age of Counter-Reformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) 53, 160: 'Their [i.e. the Florentine exiles'] impact on the Venetian understanding of politics was not immediately apparent, nor can the political revival Venice was to experience later in the century be attributed in any significant way to their influence. Nevertheless the empirical and historical attitudes of Florence indicated the direction in which Venetian thought would eventually move', *ibid.*, 171-82.

[132] *Ibid.* 102-03, 168-71, 93-4.

[133] 'Ma all'incontro è da stimare non molto quella repubblica, per essere divisi li cittadini e discordi e molto facili a mutare il governo, e timidi per natura...' Albèri (1839-63) ser.II, vol. I, 91.

[134] *Ibid.* 97-319.

republicanism which arose in several city-states of northern Italy as early as the eleventh century at first drew on the works of St Augustine and Aristotle, and sought to reconcile their seemingly conflicting viewpoints. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Roman republic was highly valued, and Cicero and Cato were praised for their defence of republicanism. Medieval writers were concerned with the maintenance of peace and unity in the city republics where factional struggles were leading to the domination or 'tyranny' of single men or families. The 'civic humanists' of fifteenth-century Florence, while responding to the Visconti threat, also derived much from these earlier writers in their anti-monarchical and pro-liberty beliefs. Popular sovereignty and the Ciceronian ideal of the 'vir virtutis' in pursuit of earthly glory and immortality were increasingly praised, and humanists attacked scholastic contemplation. Paradoxically, it was the work of St Thomas Aquinas which helped ensure the survival of republican values in the age of princes, and even Machiavelli derived much from these traditional sources in his preference for mixed republics ensuring liberty. He differed fundamentally from Aquinas in accepting tumults as part of the process of establishing liberty, as well as in his attacks on Christian virtue.[135]

Some attempts have been made to identify Contarini's view of ancient Rome.[136] It is clear that he did not make the comparison of Venice with ancient Rome a central part of his argument in *De magistratibus*, although he mentioned the dictatorships of Sulla and Julius Caesar unfavourably and regarded Venice as better equipped militarily to maintain its empire.[137] These two sentiments derived as much from Florentine republican ideas as from Venetian traditions. The defence of republican liberty for which Contarini is famed should therefore be viewed with both traditions in one frame of reference. While Contarini's models may have been classical, and his ideological framework Aristotelian and Thomist, nevertheless, his examination of the underlying tensions in political systems both classical and contemporary is made with recent events in mind and with the concern to show how political misfortune might be avoided. Contarini wrote:

> ...in these times of ours Italy it selfe hath yeelded us sufficient examples, all the cities whereof (in a manner) that were eyther governed by the people, or by the nobility, being brought under the yoke or tirany of some one of their citizens.[138]

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135 Skinner (1978) I, chs. 1-6. Skinner's thesis challenges the essential arguments of Hans Baron and W. J. Bouwsma.

136 Giovanni Silvano, *La 'Republica de' Viniziani' Ricerche sul repubblicanesimo Veneziano in età moderna* (Florence, 1993) chs. 1-2 emphasize Contarini's disinclination to compare Venice to Rome, or to suggest Venetian superiority to Rome. Bouwsma (1968) 151-2 comes to the opposite conclusion.

137 See above, ch.7.

138 'Nostris vero temporibus compertum est, omnes fere civitates Italiae, quae populari statu, aut etiam optimatium utebantur, tandem in cuiuspiam suorum civium tyrannidem devenisse'. *Opera* 295; *Contarini* 77-8.

Although the visitor to Venice might wonder at her many sights as almost miraculous in their splendour (as Contarini boasted) nevertheless, a pro-Medicean Florentine such as Corsi would have felt a sense of affinity with Contarini's preference for a combination of a restricted aristocratic government with a form of monarchy. Contarini drew upon specifically Venetian traditions in his work (he cited Doge Falier as an example of a tyrant in his own time), but that does not rule out the work's relevance to Florence or to the rest of Italy, nor does it mean that Florence had no relevance for Venice.

Contarini's concern with the unity and state of Christendom was directly related to his concern for the good republican ordering of Florence and Venice, and for the papacy's spiritual role. There is no sense in which he shared Joachimite expectations of a New World Emperor bringing about peace in Christendom in alliance with an Angelic Pope. However, in 1535 some Romans thought that Contarini himself (now a cardinal) was a future Angelic Pope.[139] The ultimate peace of Christendom, which Contarini envisaged, would provide Italy and its component states with a political role which was not merely subordinate to pope and emperor. In many ways, Contarini was the fore-runner of the 'contemplative in action' who aimed to combine secular and spiritual renewal in a harmonious way. But, unlike Francesco Zorzi's and Guillaume Postel's cabbalistic focus on Venice or France, he did not entertain illusions about Venice's potential as the site of the renewal of Christendom and he did not suggest that Venice was the 'New Rome' or the 'New Florence' in the aftermath of the events of 1527 and 1530.[140]

The strength and stability of Venice in the sixteenth century arose from a process of self-definition in religious and political terms in the 1530's, and a tradition of independence in these matters. A belief in Venice as the chosen city, together with an adherence to its historical institutions and rituals, had always enabled the Venetian state to withstand tremendous pressures.[141] The *renovatio* under Doge Gritti was therefore conducted in the religious sphere as part of the defence of republican liberty. The doge himself provided the Venetians with 'a mystical and holy image that was no mere relic, but a living being who had been elected and made sacred through the

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[139] Paolo Giovio to Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan. Rome, 14 October 1535: '...se crede ch'el papa Angelico futuro da qua a molti anni sia per essere el Cardinale Contarino, tanto eccellente in virtù, letre e bontà, e quasi vergine;...' Giovio (1956-) I, 166. Giovio's recent biographer has noted that during this period Giovio, a confidant of the late Clement VII, relied on the news from the Campo dei Fiori, i.e. the gossip of Rome: T. C. Price Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio* (Princeton, N.J., 1995) 136.
[140] Barbara Marx, *Venezia - altera Roma ? Ipotesi sull'umanesimo veneziano* (Venice, 1978); Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin, 1985).
[141] Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton N.J., 1981) *passim.*

political system'.[142] There was a marked increase in the number of obligatory processions from the beginning of the century (especially after 1510[143]), and a remarkable extension of pageantry and display in connection with the ducal processions. In addition, the doge's role in witnessing the installation of a new patriarch or the new canons of S. Marco continued after 1510 to assert Venetian independence in sacred matters. As Professor Edward Muir has put it:

> To oppose Venice was to become God's enemy. Finally, celebration and propitiation were made neither opposing nor contrasting alternatives, but complementary approaches to the ever-present ritual and practical problems of reinvigorating the social order and placating God.[144]

All of this has been noted before, and Dr Richard Mackenney has argued that it led to the 'late' Renaissance of Venice while the rest of Italy was increasingly swayed by the twin powers of Spain and the Counter-Reformation papacy.[145]

Professor Muir, furthermore, asserts that the nature of the Venetian sacral polity enabled the city to withstand the millenarian enthusiasm which swept Italy.[146] At the very least this view has to be seriously qualified by a considerable number of recent studies. One of these studies has examined the 1531 *fabula* of Bartolomeo Fonzio which symbolically asserted the role Venice might assume in delivering the Church of Rome from evil after the Sack of Rome. His vision seems to have been connected with neo-Platonic and hermetic ideas within the city of Venice itself.[147] A pro-Venetian use of prophecy is found in a contemporary unpublished work. Tommaso Diplovatazio's lengthy officially commissioned history of Venice (ca. 1521-24) contains a Venetian horoscope consisting of magical and astrological writing, biblical and esoteric texts, and prophecies.[148]

Contarini was always concerned to defend the Venetian system of government and to promote it as an exemplary system. However, his hierarchical conception of the world

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142 *Ibid.* 204

143 Sanudo XIII, coll.79-80, 95-6, 100, 127, 128, 130-49; XIV, coll.226, 228, 230-1, 257, 259-60; XVI, coll.284-90.

144 Muir (1981) 240.

145 Richard Mackenney, 'Venice', in Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (eds.) *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, 1992) ch.4.

146 Muir (1981) 16.

147 Achille Olivieri, 'Fonzio e Postel: immagini di città nella cultura veneziana del '500', in Marion Leathers Kuntz (ed.) *Postello, Venezia e il suo mondo* (Florence, 1988) 325-39.

148 BMV Ms. Lat. XIV 77 (2991) is a damaged copy on microfilm; BMV Ms. Lat. XIV 74 (4056) is a more perfect copy. The usual Venetian foundation myths are accompanied by unusual illustrations of the first huts built on the Rialto. A prophecy dating to ca.1537 attributed to a certain Abbot 'Hubertinus Hidsuntinus' concerns the tribulations to fall upon Italy following the appearance of a star. A dragon will enter the 'cubicula clericorum' and Rome will endure great trials. Florence expects 'vindictam' under a duke and Venice will be bombarded by the Turks: VBC PD. 397. no.5.

gave the pope and his spiritual advisers an enhanced role within the secular sphere. In this way, Contarini's ultimate involvement in the curia's attempts at reform during the 1530's becomes understandable. Contarini's life and works are fascinating because they undermine the cynical polarities of Machiavellian diplomacy and utopian dreaming by which historians, notably Professor Lauro Martines, have characterized the Italian response to the wars of 1494 onwards. Instead, we find a Renaissance man both grappling with everyday problems and also deeply spiritually concerned.[149]

In this respect it is interesting to note how many writers or courtiers sought financial security in clerical careers.[150] Among the interlocutors of *The Courtier*, Bernardo da Bibbiena, Federico Fregosa, and Lodvico da Canossa all became bishops, like Castiglione himself, while Bibbiena and Bembo became cardinals, like Contarini. Of course, Contarini was one of the most zealous reformers within the sixteenth-century Church before the Council of Trent. These other clerical humanists should not merely be viewed careerists. Many were involved in reform of the Church. Federico Fregoso was probably the author of a commentary on the Psalms expressing regret at having had trust in princes and their favour. Bembo of course knew Jacopo Sadoleto and Reginald Pole, as well as Contarini. Gianmatteo Giberti, reforming bishop of Verona, was a friend of Lodovico da Canossa. Contarini himself, as we have seen, was close to the humanist and diplomat turned reforming hermit, Vincenzo Querini, as well as being acquainted with moderate *piagnoni* in Florence through Paolo Giustiniani. It is apparent that Contarini, like Castiglione whom he met in Spain[151], was affected by spiritual currents encountered in the Iberian peninsula, and his interest in the New World stimulated arguments for Church reform. Even the courtier's famous arts of flattery can find a parallel in the ideal ambassadorial conduct which Contarini practised assiduously and which found literary expression in Ermolao Barbaro's work on the office of ambassador.[152]

However, Contarini emphasized liberty as much as security and peace (the two latter qualities were increasingly identified with imperial power) and the virtues of oligarchical versus princely rule.[153] Contarini noted in his *De magistratibus* how

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149 Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: city-states in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1983) chs. XIV - XV. The growing primacy of reason of state in political language in the early modern period is the thesis of Maurizio Viroli, *From politics to reason of state: the acquisition and transformation of the language of politics, 1250-1600* (Cambridge, 1992).

150 This is noted by Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin, 1967) 47-73.

151 In a dispatch from Madrid dated 16 March 1525, Contarini explained that he had introduced himself to Castiglione who had had an interview with Charles V the previous day: PRO 31/14/71 f.201r.

152 *Hermolai Barbari de offitio Legati liber*: fifteenth-century manuscript in BCV, PD 397/41, ff. 2r-8r.

153 Skinner (1978) I, 123-25.

experience and recent examples had shown how kings became tyrants, and he emphasized that the ducal office only had the appearance of kingship. Similarly, the common people were often moved to tumults and Contarini would rather have an oligarchical and aristocratic rule by impartial law than any other. Such an ordering of affairs was both natural and divine.[154] Thus, in contrast with Machiavelli, or Castiglione, for whom Fortune largely replaced God and the divine hierarchy as the arbiter in human affairs, Contarini claimed that the divine and secular were part of a coherent structure which allowed harmony among the different parts of government and resistance to military defeat.[155] He favoured a restricted republican system of government which was explicitly antithetical to imperialist or Guelph pretensions in a way shared by his friends at this time.[156]

In Venetian views of Florence, we can discern a part of this debate. The oft-repeated idea of Florentine factiousness was part of a wider debate about the involvement of young men in government. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venice, humanists placed a heavy emphasis on the training of youth in liberal arts as a preparation for government. The *studia humanitatis* would give young patricians a model of behaviour to imitate, and would, as a consequence, glorify the deeds of patrician ancestors. Zaccaria Barbaro and Francesco Contarini were outstanding examples of model youth in a society where government was monopolized by the elderly.[157] Worse still, the young were viewed as being more prone to passions and violence in their adolescence (which could run to 25, 28, or 30 years of age according to different writers).[158]

Domenico Morosini's *De bene instituta re publica* (ca. 1497-1509), which was begun when he was eighty years of age, saw no merit at all in drawing relatively young men into the governing council. Their inexperience brought disorder into government.[159] Similarly, Gasparo Contarini warned of youthful passions requiring temperance by the old.[160] Indeed, Venetian government was a gerontocracy where the average age of

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154 See above, ch.7.

155 It is interesting to note that in the processions marking the publication of the League of Cognac in Venice on 8 July 1526 the friars of S. Stefano represented fortune holding the world in one hand and a wheel in the other. Sanudo XLII, coll. 68-69.

156 See below, pp. 265-7.

157 Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Chicago, 1986).

158 David Herlihy, 'Some social and psychological roots of violence in the Tuscan cities', in Lauro Martines (ed.) *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500* (Berkeley, 1972) 129-54: 135 & n.13. See also, Creighton Gilbert, 'When did a man in the Renaissance grow old?' *Studies in the Renaissance* XIV (1967) 7-32; and John E. Law, 'Age Qualifications and the Venetian Constitution: The Case of the Capello Family', *Papers of the British School at Rome* XXXIX (1971) 125-37.

159 Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (London, 1980) 138-39.

160 Gasparo Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, (trans.) L. Lewkenor (London, 1599; facsimile edition, Farnborough, 1968) 94-95. Ironically, most of the European monarchs who

the doge on election was seventy-two, between 1400 and 1600.[161] There is evidence of resentment among those over twenty-five and eligible for election to the Great Council, but effectively excluded from office-holding for another twenty years.[162] However, there seems to have been a consensus in the process of increasing responsibility being granted with increasing age, and a large amount of deference engendered thereby.

Venice could proudly contrast its experience with that of Florence where, from the death of Lorenzo de' Medici until 1512, the young were blamed for most of the disasters which befell the city.[163] In many ways Florentine political divisions came to be viewed as generational in origin, rather than social or economic. The Medici tried to take advantage of this after 1512, and particularly after 1523. However, the plot of 1522 and the revolution of 1527 were led principally by young men.[164] Ceremonially and politically youths took centre stage during the last republic, particularly in the form of the militia bound by oath and richly dressed which played a form of football in Piazza Santa Croce. It was some of these young men who, by defecting to Stefano Colonna, helped bring about the end of the republic. Carlo Cappello remarked upon these militia and noted the rebellion of the defection of the youth in 1530.[165] Foscari noted their involvement in the 'Friday tumult' of 1527.[166]

Venetian views of Florence were by no means uniform. The dispatches and *relazioni* of ambassadors to Florence display varying degrees of admiration for the Florentines from unbounded (Cappello and Fedeli, his secretary), to grudging or tactical (Antonio Suriano and Marco Foscari). Foscari recognized Florence's strategic importance to Venice in a time of crisis (just as Alamanni and Buondelmonti did in 1522) and he elaborated its constitutional apparatus. However, he disapproved of the faction-ridden nature of Florentine society as well as the involvement of Florentine nobles in trades.

Contarini met during his lifetime were relatively young men. When Contarini first met Charles V, Henry VIII, and Francis I in the 1520's, they were all in their twenties or early thirties. At a ball to celebrate their entry into Brussels, Charles V and the Danish king danced into the early hours. Contarini commented on this in his dispatch, observing that 'young sovereigns such as these not tiring themselves easily'. PRO 31/14/70 Brussels (4 July 1521) ff. 43r-v. Finlay (1980) 125 makes this point, and cites Sanudo's 1518 comments on the youth of kings (Sanudo XXVI, col. 210).

161 Finlay (1980) 125.

162 *Ibid.* 132.

163 This is Richard Trexler's thesis. See his *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York and London, 1980) 515-547.

164 Trexler (1980) 521, n.147 asserts that they were in their twenties, although Henry Knox, who is working on a study of political opposition in Renaissance Florence, has informed me that the materials he has examined suggest the involvement of older men.

165 Albèri (1839-63) ser. II, vol.1, 230, 314.

166 Ventura (1976) I, 145 (139-42?). See also Sanudo LII, col. 379 (youth parades); *ibid.* 137 (militia terrorizing people); XLIV, coll. 580ff.

Surian was similarly dismissive. Florence was viewed in the mirror of Venetian concerns and traditions, and became the antithesis of Venetian government.

However, Cappello and Fedeli were willing to make Florence a symbol of liberty defended in Italy, and its ultimate fate in 1530 a paradigm for all Italy. Ventura writes:

> La passione repubblicana degli esuli fiorentini s'incontrava qui con i fermenti antioligarchici che animavano una parte del patriziato veneziano, sempre più insofferente del crescente potere delle grandi famiglie senatorie arroccate nel Consiglio dei dieci e nel Collegio.[167]

This interesting conclusion is perhaps harder to draw from the anti-oligarchical activities of Bernardo Cappello in 1539 as 'capo di Quarantia' than Ventura suggests. Nevertheless, it suggests one of the ways in which Florentine republicanism could have been absorbed into Venetian political discourse and practice. However, the Florentine interlocutors of the anonymous dialogue of ca.1538-42 were dismissive of Carlo Cappello's accusations of Florentine incompetence in government. They put his remarks down to the jealousy which naturally arises between friends. On the other hand, they assert, Florence equals Venice in glory and greatness.[168] It seems that Jacopo Nardi also picked up on the adverse comments of Foscari or Cappello when he wrote his *Discorso fatto in Venezia contro ai calunniatori del popolo fiorentino* (ca.1534).[169]

This chapter has described the pattern of Venetian-Florentine relations which may be observed from the perspective of Venetians in Florence. This approach allows us to discern, if not the emergence of a 'new civic humanism', then at least a renewed debate about government and the ideals of *negotium* and *otium* in Venice. It has already been suggested how Contarini sought to reconcile these ideals. The *De magistratibus* is clearly related to this debate and Contarini was very conscious of the historical importance of the political relations between Florence and Venice during 1525-30. The observations of Florentine ambassadors, most of whom were his friends, indicate their concern for the prevention of internal faction, and for the preservation of external liberty. Contarini shared the ideology of his peers, and echoed their chauvinistic regard for Florence when he favoured a mixed government and a gerontocracy which would ensure harmony in the state. Furthermore, he shared in the passionate attachment to Florence which its moment of crisis during 1529-30 aroused

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[167] *DBI* 18: 769.

[168] Paolo Simoncelli, 'Repubblicani fiorentini in esilio. Nuove testimonianze (1538-1542)', in A. Murrogh *et al.* (eds.) *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, 2 vols., (Florence, 1985) I, 217-35: 233.

[169] See below, ch.9.

in some Venetians. All of these concerns he comfortably assimilated with his own sense of being a Venetian, an Italian, and a member of Christendom. This reconciliation was equally achieved in the city of Venice by his friends, by Florentines, and other foreigners in a way which made the city a true republic of ideas.

Chapter 9

New Florence?: Florentine Exiles and Republican Thought in Renaissance Venice

i. 'A golden axe'
Florentines in Venice and the theme of exile

Gasparo Contarini asserted in his *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (composed 1523-31; published 1543) that 'forrayners and strangers' in Venice 'should not be molested and lingred with long delays', and that consequently their lawsuits should be quickly settled there. He was expressing a concern for the well-being of strangers (whether from the *terraferma* or the rest of Europe) which was a characteristic of writing about Venice during the Renaissance.[1] Writing in 1537, the satirist and would-be ecclesiastic Pietro Aretino declared characteristically that he would rather be a gondolier in Venice than a servant in the princely courts.[2] Indeed, as the self-styled 'scourge of princes', Aretino made himself famous as Venice's arch-publicist and the excoriator of Roman corruption. The publication of his first volume of letters in 1538 included his famous letter to Doge Andrea Gritti praising Venice as a home for exiles.[3] To his fellow exile from Rome, Jacopo Sansovino (another man to do very well under Gritti's patronage) he wrote: 'Here...a good foreigner is accepted not only as a citizen but even as a gentleman'. Therefore, in return for providing diplomatic gossip and promoting Venice in his work, Aretino was indeed able to gain the patronage of a wide and influential group of patricians, and protection from prosecution for an alarming range of crimes.[4]

Aretino is a particularly interesting person for this chapter's purposes because he was one of many exiles who were drawn to Venice from Florence and Rome during the first forty years of the sixteenth century. As soon as Aretino had adopted the Venetian republic as his home he articulated a consciously anti-court theme in his writing. In this way he provides a good point from which to view the theme of the exile in Renaissance Venice and its role in the defence of political and religious liberty.

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[1] Gasparo Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, (trans.) L. Lewkenor (London, 1599; facsimile edition, Farnborough, 1968) 105.

[2] Patricia H. Labalme, 'Personality and Politics in Venice: Pietro Aretino', in David Rosand (ed.) *Titian: his world and his legacy* (New York, 1982)ch.4: 122.

[3] Pietro Aretino, *Il primo libro delle lettere* (ed.) Fausto Nicolini (Bari, 1913) 26-27.

[4] Labalme (1982) 123-25. Christopher Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice: researches on Aretino and his circle in Venice, 1527-1556* (Florence, 1985) chs. 1 & 2.

Recently, there has been a new interest in the figure of the exile. Professor Randolph Starn has written of the 'contrary commonwealth' or the looking-glass world of the men forced to leave their homelands for political reasons. He has examined their expressions of resignation or joyous acceptance of their plight, from Dante onwards.[5] However, he has not fully explored Venice's key role. More recently, there have been conferences devoted to this theme, particularly as a literary phenomenon.[6]

It has long been a truism of Venetian historiography that Venice provided a refuge for political exiles. The Welshman William Thomas (d.1554) was obliged to spend five years in Italy, possibly as a result of his religious beliefs. In 1549 he wrote of Venice that:

> Al men, specially strangers have so muche libertee there, that though they speak verie ill by the Venetians, so they attempt nothyng in effecte against theyr astate, no man shall controll them for it...Further, he that dwelleth in Venice, maie recken himselfe exempt from subiection. For no man there marketh an others dooynges, or that meddleth with an other mans livyng [particularly in religious matters]... And generally of all other thinges, so thou offende no man privately, no man shall offende the[e]: whiche undoubtedly is one principall cause, that draweth so many strangers thither.[7]

This chapter will comprise an examination of some of the ways in which Venetians and others made this assertion. Works of literature will be considered as well as the prosopography of exiles, largely Florentine, in Venice. In examining how Florentine exiles moved to Venice it will be shown how exiles found a place in Venetian society, both temporarily and permanently. In turn, Venetian attitudes towards these men are very revealing of political and religious beliefs. In the 'defence of republican liberty' the exchange of political ideas between Florentines and Venetians, as well as the Venetian view of Florence are key.[8] Taken together, they provide a more convincing context in which one can assess the problems faced by republican governments in the early sixteenth century and the way in which religion continued to dominate the politics of these states.

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[5] Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: the theme of exile in medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1982). Also of interest is Lauro Martines, 'The Gentleman in Renaissance Italy: Strains of Isolation in the Body Politic', in Robert S. Kinsman (ed.)*The Darker Vision of the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974) ch.III. Professor Michael Mallett has kindly informed me that Dr Christine Shaw is preparing a study of exiles in Italy in the fifteenth century.

[6] 'The Theme of Exile in the Renaissance': A one-day conference held at the Institute of Romance Studies, University of London, School of Advanced Study (29 March 1996). According to Carlo Dionisotti, the Italian literary canon, the first to be established in Europe, was almost entirely the product of exiles. *Idem, Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin, 1967) 32.

[7] William Thomas, *History of Italy* (London, 1549) 85. On Thomas see *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1917-) XIX, 673-76.

[8] As noted by William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance values in the age of Counter-Reformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) ch.2 *passim*; 102-3.

In the dialogue *De litteratorum infelicitate* (set in Rome in 1529) the *persona* of Gasparo Contarini expressed his disappointment upon visiting Rome as Venetian ambassador and discovering the decimation among the ranks of humanists :

> I discovered that the learned men whom I was hoping to see, pathetically lay dead in so great a number, and had been carried off by the cruelty of fate and afflicted with most-undeserved misfortunes. Some had been struck by pestilence, and others reduced to ruin in exile and poverty; some slaughtered by the sword, others destroyed by long-lasting tortures; and still others inflicted death upon themselves of their own accord - a thing which I judge to be the most dreadful of all calamities.[9]

While this speech was primarily a rhetorical device by which to introduce the main theme of Valeriano's work, nevertheless the cities of Italy contained a fair number of immigrants and exiles during the medieval and Renaissance period. Indeed, the economic migrant was one of the principal means of demographic increase and provided a source of labour, while the exiled scholar was a familiar figure. The census of Rome of 1526-27 included a very large proportion of names which suggest the presence of Italians from Florence, Milan, and Venice, as well as from lands closer to Rome.[10]

Venice, as a prosperous trading city, with *terraferma* possessions and overseas colonies, attracted a large number of economic migrants. As the French ambassador Philippe de Commynes famously remarked at the end of the fifteenth century: 'most of their people are foreigners'.[11] Venice's role as a staging-post for pilgrimages to the Holy Land afforded many Europeans a glimpse both of its famous architecture and government. In 1506, one English pilgrim remarked upon:

> The rychesse, the sumptuous buyldynge, the relygyous houses, and the stablysshynge of their justyces and councylles, with all other thynge yt maketh a cytie glorious, surmounteth in Venyse above all place y[e]t ever I sawe.[12]

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[9] '...qui litteratos viros, quos me visurum sperabam, tanto numero comperiebam miserabiliter occubuisse, atrocissimaque fati acerbitate sublatos, indignissimisque affectos infortuniis, alios peste interceptos, alios in exilio, & inopia oppressos, hos ferro trucidatos, illos diuturnis cruciatibus absumptos; alios, quod aerumnarum omnium atrocissimum arbitror, ultro sibi mortem consciuisse'. Pierio Valeriano, *De litteratorum infelicitate libri duo* (Venice, 1[6]20) 7-8.

[10] Egmont Lee (ed.) *Descriptio Urbis. The Roman census of 1527.* (Rome, 1985).

[11] Philippe de Commynes, *The Memoirs*, (ed.) S. Kinser, (trans.) I. Cazeaux, 2 vols., (New York, 1969-73) II, 493. On foreigners in Venice generally see the brief article by Reinhold C. Mueller, 'Stranieri e culture straniere a Venezia. Aspetti economici e sociali', in *Componenti storico-artistiche e culturali a Venezia nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Venice, 1981) 75-77; Giorgio Fedalto, 'Stranieri a Venezia e a Padova', *SCV* 3/1, 499-535. This article does not consider the Florentine presence in the Veneto at all.

[12] Sir Richard Guylforde, *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, (ed.) Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1851) 8.

Later in the sixteenth century, the Venetian state made specific provision for the accommodation and supervision of foreigners.[13] These foreigners were either visitors or permanent residents, and important foreign dignatories were met by the Venetian patricians and conducted on an increasingly well regulated tour of the city during the later medieval and early medieval periods. Visitors were led by their proud hosts from the Arsenal to the Ducal Palace, Merceria, and basilica of St Mark.[14]

Economically important groups such as the Germans and the Turks were housed in *fondachi* which included warehouse facilities.[15] The Albanians established their own confraternity in the fifteenth century, while the Greeks were granted progressively greater privileges to practise the orthodox faith in the city by the end of the fifteenth century.[16] Large numbers of Jews settled in Venice after 1509, and from 1516 they were obliged to live in an area of the city known as the 'Geto' where there had been a foundry.[17] Later in the sixteenth century the Council of Ten sought to protect Greeks and Jews from the interference of the Inquisition. Possibly because the city was so concerned to protect its reputation for tolerance, condemned heretics were drowned at night.[18] Venice's university at Padua attracted a large number of foreign scholars, notably Germans.[19] After the Reformation the presence of 'suspect persons' from Germany, France, and England, as well as Turks, Jews, and Marranos, seemed to

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[13] ASV, Giustizia Nova, busta 5, registers 11 & 12. Cited in R. S. Mackenney, 'Venice', in Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (eds.) *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, 1992) ch.4: 66, n.40. The supervision of foreigners is considered in ASV, Consiglio di Dieci, parte segrete. Reg.5 ff.147r-148r. From 1287 the 'giudici del forestier' were concerned with disputes between foreigners in Venice, and between foreigners and Venetians. The extant records cover the period 1320-1797. I have examined ASV, Giudici del Forestier, lettere missive, reg.2 (covering the period 31 August 1526-1 April 1528) which are principally concerned with disputes about inheritance; ASV, Giudici del Forestier, 'Estraordinari', reg.1 (covering 19 October 1535-1 October 1536), and 'Multorum', filza 1. In these I have found no mention of disputes with Florentines. Most cases seem to have involved the inhabitants of the city of Venice and of the towns of the *terraferma*.

[14] See Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe. La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale* (Venice, 1996) 196-203, 287-310. On Cosimo de' Medici's arrival in Venice see below, p. 254, and Appendix 1.

[15] Some interesting documents are printed in H. Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig.* 2 vols. in 1 (Stuttgart, 1887). See also P. Braunstein, 'Remarques sur la population allemande de Venise à la fin du moyen âge' in H. G. Beck *et al* (eds.) *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli xv e xvi): aspetti e problemi*, 2 vols., (Florence, 1977) I, 233-43.

[16] D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: studies in the dissemination of Greek learning from Byzantium to the west* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Beck *et al* (1977).

[17] See principally, Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia, 1930); Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1971) 431-578; and *idem, The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Oxford, 1983).

[18] That at least is John Martin's view in *Venice's Hidden Enemies. Italian heretics in a Renaissance city* (Berkeley, 1993) 190.

[19] Fedalto (1976-86). There seem to have been few Florentines at the University of Padua in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, 'L'università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento', *SCV* 3/III, 607-47.

threaten the stability and longevity of Venice which, it was alleged in 1588 by the papal nuncio, was founded on its Catholic piety.[20] However, one historian has observed how the Republic's stability was linked to its success in restraining the Inquisition from 'provocative behaviour', and how, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Venice 'seemed confident of its ability to contain foreign heterodoxy or infidelity and to prevent them from infecting the host population'.[21]

An examination of the 'privilegia' or grants of citizenship made to foreigners between 1305 and 1500 provides a rough guide to the changing composition of immigrant groups in Venice.[22] Between 1305 and 1348 the requirements for citizenship in terms of residency, taxation, and military duties were stiff. After the plague, citizenship grants were made much more freely and rose to a peak in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Over these two centuries, the trend was towards granting varying rights of citizenship to people of humble occupations and from distant places of origin. Between 1370 and 1430 the number of grants peaked at an annual average of 250-300. This average was raised by laws which reduced the length of residency required by applicants. Tuscans, Lombards, Romagnesi, and Venetians from the *terraferma* formed the bulk of new citizens. Northern Europe and the rest of Italy formed a steady ten per cent of new citizens, while the Greeks and Dalmatians formed another ten per cent during this period. Grants of citizenship were increasingly made to those involved in textile trades. In terms of geographical distribution within the city itself, the Lucchesi (who had their own church and confraternity) and Bolognesi favoured the *sestier* of San Marco.[23]

Florentines established their trading partnerships on the island of Giudecca at the end of the thirteenth century.[24] Over the period 1305 to 1500 most Florentines settled in the *sestier* of San Polo, in the *contrade* of Sant'Aponal and San Cassian, or in the *sestier* of San Marco, centred on the *contrada* of San Salvador. This latter *sestier* was very close to the mercantile heart of the city at the Rialto and Merceria, and a 'Calle dei Toscani' to this day marks the presence of Tuscans (or textile workers, who were referred to as 'Tuscans') at a stone's throw from the Rialto bridge and the Grand Canal. Studies of Florentines in Rome, Avignon, and Trieste have shown that most were 'mercatores' and 'campsores' (linen workers). Florentines in Venice were mainly of

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[20] Hieronimo Matteucci quoted in Pullan (1983) 21.
[21] *Ibid.* 56, 22.
[22] What follows is drawn from Stephen Ell, 'Citizenship and Immigration in Venice, 1305 to 1500' (Unpublished University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, 1975).
[23] On the Lucchesi see Luca Molà, *La comunità dei Lucchesi a Venezia* (Venice, 1994).
[24] Mueller (1981) 77, n.3 announced that ch.2 of his forthcoming *Il mercato dei cambi a Venezia* would comprise of a history of the Florentine community in Venice. See Furio Brugnolo, 'I Toscani nel Veneto e le Cerchie Toscaneggianti', *SCV* 2, 369-439.

humble origin and formed the largest group of all textile workers, or they were merchants and bankers.

Evidence of the increasing importance of Florentines in Venice is provided by the confraternity which ninety-seven Florentines founded in the city in 1436. In 1360 the Ten had identified national *scuole* of Lucca, Milan and Monza, and Florence. However, a number of long-term Florentine residents died of the plague without spiritual or material assistance. Therefore, at the end of August 1435, noting that other 'nationes Venetiis commorantes' provided for body and soul, the Florentines applied to the Ten. They said that they did not wish to live 'inconsulte ac imprudenter' and asked to found a *scuola* 'in caritate et fraternitate scolastica...et tenere residentiam in ecclesiam Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli' under the protection of the Virgin and St John the Baptist. The Ten agreed to this request. However, sometime before 1443, the *scuola* transferred to Sa Maria dei Frari where it was confirmed by the Ten in that year as having been 'iam multo tempore'.[25] At the Frari the *scuola* erected an altar to St John the Baptist, for which Donatello provided a figure of St John in wood.[26] In fact, the figure was inscribed '1438' on the base. In 1437 the *scuola* wrote to the Medici in Florence asking for funds for the building of their chapel in the Frari which was completed in 1443.[27] Later, Jacopo Sansovino was to execute a St John the Baptist in marble to crown the Holy water stoup in front of the chapel.

This raises the interesting question of the role of this confraternity in providing a social and political base for Florentine exiles. Unfortunately, it is a question which can only be partially answered as a result of the loss of the confraternity's records.[28] Carlo Maria Nardi recorded in his 1735 biography of the Florentine historian and exile Jacopo Nardi how Giovan Domenico Cottini, the Florentine consul in Venice at this time, communicated to him the records of the Florentine confraternity in Venice. These records covered a century and a half of the confraternity's history and were contained in a manuscript book as well as a printed edition. According to Carlo Maria

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[25] Lia Sbriziolo 'Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: dalle deliberazione miste (1310-1476) del Consiglio dei Dieci. Scolae comunes, artigiane e nazionali', *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di Scienze morali, lettere ed arti.* Anno Accademico CXXX (1967-68) vol. 126, 405-42: 406, 431, 433.

[26] On this see Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (Newhaven, Mass., 1993) 38 and plate 36, 113, 119, 327 n.98. He notes that Tuscan artists were employed by Giovanni Martini to decorate the Martini chapel in the church of S. Giobbe, Venice. Martini was married to a Florentine and had close business contacts with Florence: *ibid.* 109.

[27] *Ibid.* 327, n.99; A. D. Fraser Jenkins, 'Cosimo de' Medici's patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXXIII (1970) 162-70. The foundation document (dated 16 September 1436) of the Florentine altar in the Frari is printed in Pietro Paoletti, *L'Architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia,* 2 vols., (Venice, 1893) I, 90, document 7.

[28] I was unable to find any reference to a similar printed or manuscript book in my search of the catalogues of the BMV or the BNF.

Nardi, the confraternity was founded in 1436 by ninety-seven Florentine citizens headed by Bardo Altoviti. The confraternity was based at the Church and Convent of the Frari, and there they erected an altar to S. Giovanni Evangelista.[29] Interestingly enough, a Sandro Altoviti (1365-1439) and his sons were sent into enforced residence for five years in Venice in 1434 because of his part in sending Cosimo de' Medici into exile there in 1433. The Altoviti family were one of the older merchant families in Florence whose fortunes had declined somewhat by the beginning of the fifteenth century.[30] However, it seems unlikely that former enemies of the Medici would in 1437 make an appeal to them for funds for the construction of the Florentine chapel.

The chapel of the confraternity had been damaged by 1504, when the Guardian and friars of the Frari were ordered to restore to new what they had demolished of the chapel.[31] The confraternity does not seem to have gained particular vigour from the influx of Florentine exiles ('fuorusciti') following the downfall of the Florentine republic of 1527-30, or from the defeat of the Florentine *fuorusciti* at the battle of Montemurlo in 1537.[32] A series of letters between Duke Cosimo II de' Medici and his ambassador Pier Filippo Pandolfini in Venice in 1545-46 makes it clear that the Florentine merchants were in disagreement about making a provision for Jacopo Nardi, one of the most prominent *fuorusciti.* The Giunti brothers, who were Florentine printers based in Venice, appear to have been attempting to gain reimbursement from the confraternity for their edition of Nardi's translation of Livy. Pandolfini noted that the Florentines complained that there was not enough money to make any provisions for fellow countrymen in Venice in any case.[33] Despite this affair, or maybe because of it, Jacopo Nardi was elected 'guardiano e governatore' of the *scuola* and in 1556 he undertook a reform of the confraternity with two counsellors.[34] A confraternity of Tuscans meeting in an oratory at the Frari at the end of the century were denounced for practising flagellation and reciting the Gospel in the dark. The inquisitors failed to follow up this case, and it is not clear whether they were denounced on suspicion of

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[29] Carlo Maria Nardi, *La vita di Jacopo Nardi* in Jacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, (ed.) L. Arbib, 2 vols., (Florence, 1842) pp.XLVIII-XLXIX.

[30] *DBI* 2: 579-80; Dale Kent, 'I Medici in esilio: una vittoria di famiglia e una disfatta personale', *ASI* 132 (1974) 3-64.

[31] Paoletti (1893) I, 90, document 7.

[32] On the general theme of exile in Italy see Starn (1982); and Martines (1974). On the activities of the *fuorusciti* and the Florentine state after 1530 see G. E. Moretti, 'Il Cardinale Ippolito de' Medici dal trattato di Barcellona alla morte 1529-35', *ASI* XVIII (1940) 137-78; Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo de' Medici e l'Indipendenza del Principato Mediceo* (Florence, 1945; reprinted 1980).

[33] Alfredo Pieralli, *La vita e le opere di Iacopo Nardi* (Florence,1901) 142-3, 143, n.1.

[34] The 1556 statutes of the confraternity are published by Agostino Sagredo, 'Statuti della fraternità e compagnia de'Fiorentini in Venezia dell'anno 1556', *ASI*, appendice, IX (1854) 443-97: 457-92.

heresy or because they were disliked because of hostility towards aliens who may have been economic rivals.[35]

Before 1434, the only specifically political exiles who can be identified are five anti-Sforza Milanese nobles who came to Venice in the 1350's, and the members of the Donati family of Florence who were granted Venetian citizenship within three years of one of their family being condemned for involvement in a 'conspiracy' of 1360. In September 1433, the heads of the Medici family were exiled from Florence, under the accusation of having conspired to the detriment of the supremacy of the constitutional government of the commune. Cosimo de' Medici went to Venice where the young Francesco de' Medici described the lavish welcome they received from the doge and senators. Cosimo is reported as having said that they were received by the Venetians more like ambassadors than exiles. Venetian patricians like Jacopo Donado were certainly willing to help the Medici whose bank was established in the city. Donado put his house at Padua at their disposal and headed an embassy which intervened in favour of the Medici with Florence and the emperor. Although Florentine citizenship was conferred upon Donado, he was unsuccessful in his appeals. Romeo Foscari, a member of the doge's family, wrote that the Medici were banished: 'Only because of bitter jealousy, and not by any indiscretion committed by you against your commune'.[36] In September 1434, the Medici were recalled to Florence, having consolidated their banking concerns in Florence and built a library attached to the Benedictine monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore which stood across the Grand Canal from the ducal palace.[37]

During the fifteenth century Flavio Biondo (an exile himself), and the Venetian historians Bernardo Giustiniani, and Marc'Antonio Sabellico described the foundation of Venice by refugees driven from the Italian mainland by the gothic invasions.[38] Pietro Alcyonio (1487-1527) seems to be the only Venetian writer during the Renaissance period to have devoted an entire book to the theme of exile. In his *Medices Legatus de exsilio* (Venice, 1522) he described how exile was considered by some people to be an evil because the exile was obliged to live outside of his homeland, far from honours, and in material need. However, Alcyonio observed that

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[35] The matter is considered by Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989) 62.

[36] 'Solo per amaritudene de'invidia, e non per alchuno manchamento vostro comesso contra del vostro Commune'. Kent (1974) 17; A. Gelli, 'L'esilio di Cosimo de'Medici', *ASI*, 4th series, X (1882) 53-96, 149-69.

[37] According to C. S. Gutkind, *Cosimo de'Medici. Pater Patriae, 1389-1464.* (Oxford, 1938) 88-90. His suggestion that Cosimo attempted to undermine the Florentine government from Venice is denied by Kent (1974).

[38] See above, ch.6.

exiles could love and admire the great and splendid cities which he visited in exile. Therefore, he cited 'happy' exiles from classical sources as well as from more recent experience. The exile of Cosimo de' Medici in Venice allowed Alcyonio to praise extravagantly Cosimo's virtues, but he significantly neglected to praise Venice as a place of refuge for exiles.[39] On the contrary, Alcyonio challenged the customary idea of the 'homeland' and argued that no particular place is important, and that one may be accorded praise (particularly for literary endeavours) in many cities other than one's own.[40]

Alcyonio, who was of Greek origin, Venetian upbringing, and in Florentine employment in 1522, probably had good cause so to argue. His overriding concern in writing this work seems to have been to ingratiate himself with the Medici rather than with Venice, a supposition confirmed by the title of the work and his extravagant praise of Giovanni and Giulio de' Medici at its conclusion.[41] Later in the century the Venetian Gianmichele Bruto's *Florentinae historiae libri VIII* (Lyons, 1562) was imbued with a strong republicanism and a more nuanced sense of Florentine history. This was combined with particularly Venetian attitudes such as the view that Venice had displayed constancy in moments of adversity, and that it had long freed cities and protected the unfortunate. He ascribed to a group of exiles from Medicean Florence in 1466 a tribute to Venice as the divinely chosen home of liberty. Bruto was later to edit an edition of Donato Giannotti's treatise on the Venetian system of government.[42]

During the fifteenth century territorial expansion and consolidation in Italy reduced the scope of activity of the outlaws, bandits, and exiles who had earlier formed significant forces in the medieval period.[43] However, after 1494 the rivalries of French and Spanish monarchs gave exiles access to new political patrons. Florentine exiles went in increasing numbers, with or without their families, to Venice, Rome, Lyons and the French court.[44] In 1522, Zanobi Buondelmonti and Luigi Alamanni

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[39] Pietro Alcyonio, *Medices Legatus, sive de exilio libri duo* (Leipzig, 1707) 27-32.
[40] *Ibid.* 33-43.
[41] *Ibid.* 248-50. On Alcyonio see principally *DBI* 2: 77-80; G. Hugo Tucker, 'Exile Exiled: Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?) in a Travelling-Chest', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 2 (1993) 83-103. Hugo Tucker notes Alcyonio's associations with Giovanni Battista Egnazio and the Aldine Academy, as well as the mixed reception his life and work received. He interprets the work on exile as one of 'desperate self-reintegration' on Alcyonio's part into the patronage of the Medici and the literary world of Rome: *ibid.* 92-3.
[42] Bouwsma (1968) 171-82.
[43] Dr Peter Laven is writing a study of this topic.
[44] Paolo Simoncelli, *La lingua di Adamo. Guilluame Postel tra Accademici e fuoriusciti fiorentini* (Florence, 1984). For a reminder that exile affected wives and families, often for decades: Susannah Foster Baxendale, 'Exile in Practice: The Alberti Family In and Out of Florence 1401-1428', *Renaissance Quarterly* XLIV/4 (1991) 720-56; Margery A. Ganz, 'Paying the Price for Political Failure. Florentine Women in the Aftermath of 1466', *Rinascimento* XXXIV (1994) 237-57.

passed through Venice on their way to France to escape punishment for allegedly plotting to murder Giulio de'Medici.[45] According to a 1526 account given at the trial of one of the plotters, they had intended installing a system of government similar to that of Venice, including a *gonfaloniere* elected for life.[46] In Venice, they were accommodated by Carlo Cappello (a friend of Contarini - they were both former students of Marco Musurus) and Alamanni wrote to Giambatista della Palla at the French court, where they hoped to gain favour, that he had been warmly received in the city. [47] Letters were to be sent to them under cover of Cappello's name. Later, Cappello paid for the release of the plotters from imprisonment near Geneva. As French ambassador to Venice in 1541, Alamanni was to declare before the Council of Ten:

> ...that this city has always been the secure refuge of whoever is oppressed, in flight or displaced because of war and troubles. Among others, I, Luigi was an example of someone reduced to exile by the mutation of his homeland, the state of Florence... [48]

These exiles were temporary, but another of the 1522 plotters, Antonio Brucioli, returned to Venice in 1529 to prepare an edition of his dialogues, and remained there. Brucioli seems to have been part of a circle of Florentines, who visited the Veneto from 1524 onwards, often as young scholars at the university of Padua. They seem in general to have become unhappy with the Medicean regime restored in 1512 and to be connected in some way with the 1522 plotters, or with the *Orti Oricellari.* Principal among them were Baldassare Carducci; Alessandro Pazzi; his secretary Donato Giannotti; Bernardo Segni, a friend of Pazzi; his friend Paolo Antonio Soderini; Niccolò Ardinghelli; his friend Giovanni Borgherini; his friend Lorenzo Strozzi; and Jacopo Nardi. The patronage of the Strozzi and Soderini families in Venice appears to have been important for these men.[49]

Donato Giannotti, who was one of the most prominent of these men, made his feelings about the Medici clear when he wrote to Segni on 21 May 1527 after the

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[45] Niccolò Machiavelli dedicated his *Vita di Castruccio Castracani* (1520) to Buondelmonti and Alamanni.

[46] 'Et così a poco a poco volevan ridurre el governo fiorentino come quello de' Venetiani.' C. Guasti. 'Documenti della Congiura fatta contro il Cardinale Giulio de'Medici nel 1522', in *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* III (1859), 121-50, 185-232, 239-67: 245.

[47] '...in luogo dove non solo siamo sicurissimi, ma molto et honorati et accharezzati...' Letter from Venice, dated 21 July 1522 quoted in *ibid.* 142.

[48] '...che questa città era stà sempre et è il rifugio securo de qualunque oppressi, profugi et exterri per causa di guerre et dissidii. Di che fra li altri, esso D.Alvise uno era exempio de haverse reducto qui exule per la mutatione del stato di Fiorenza patria soa...' Quoted in H. Hauvette, *Un Exilé Florentin à la cour de France au XVIè siècle: Luigi Alamanni, 1495-1556, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1903) 544.

[49] On these men, see Appendix 1.

expulsion of the Medici from Florence: 'Meanwhile live happily, and rejoice in true and free happiness, praying to God that we are freed from this other barbaric filth, just as it [Florence] has been liberated from this wicked tyranny...' [50] Like many of his fellow exiles, Giannotti believed in an aristocratic government with elements of restrained monarchy and democracy. Venice, with its reputation as an asylum for exiles and as a place were the Aristotelian ideal of the 'mixed' polity had been realized, provided these exiles with an attractive and convenient base as they dreamed or plotted the downfall of the Medici, or the widening of aristocratic participation in government.

ii. Aristocratic republicans: Venetian and Florentine political theory, ca. 1525-40

These Florentines shared many political ideas with Venetians, and took part in a common political debate, at least during the 1520's.[51] Contarini and his friends made contact with Florentines who were living in the cities of Padua and Venice during this period. It seems clear that Venetian and Florentine exchanges of philosophical, political, and religious ideas began in the fifteenth century, and an initial prosopographical study of Florentines in the Veneto suggests that Padua was an important centre for them in the first half of the sixteenth century.[52] Felix Gilbert has commented that the Florentine interest in the Venetian form of government dated at least from the fifteenth century.[53] Venetians themselves were receptive to Florentine ideas. Eugenio Garin has written of: '...una feconda e continua circolazione di idee fra Venezia e Firenze [...] proprio sul terreno filosofico toscana e veneta nel Quattrocento'.[54] Gasparo Contarini himself highly praised the Florentine Platonist Francesco da Diacceto following his visit to Florence in 1515, and he made several Florentine friends there or at Camaldoli, including Giovanni Corsi, a diplomat and biographer of Marsilio Ficino.[55]

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[50] 'Interim vivete felici, et vi rallegrate in vero et libero gaudio, pregando Iddio che ci liberi da quest'altra barbarica illuvie, come egli ci ha liberati dalla scellerata tyrannnide'. Rudolf von Albertini, *Firenze dalla republica al principato*, (trans.) Cesare Cristofolini (Turin, 1970; reprinted 1995) 149, n.1.

[51] On the presence of Aristotle in the political proposals of Florentines during ca. 1494-1537 see *ibid.*, *ad ind. s. v.* 'Aristotele'.

[52] See below, Appendix 1.

[53] Felix Gilbert. 'The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought', in Nicolai Rubinstein (ed.) *Florentine studies*. (London, 1968) 463-500.

[54] Eugenio Garin, 'Cultura filosfica toscana e veneta nel Quattrocento', in Vittore Branca (ed.) *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (Venice, 1963) 13.

[55] On Corsi (who was Florentine ambassador to Venice in 1512) see *DBI* 29: 567-70; P. O. Kristeller, 'Un uomo di stato e umanista fiorentino: Giovanni Corsi', in *idem, Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* 3 vols., (Rome, 1956-93) I, 175-90.

Professor Thomas F. Mayer has argued that during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century these Florentine refugees to the Veneto and their friends among the Venetian patriciate were on 'the defensive [and] blended their two distinctive civic humanisms into a new oligarchical form...'[56] Professor Mayer distinguishes between those Florentine exiles and Venetians who supported a 'new theory of government by the *ottimati*, or the oligarchy co-operating with the ruler'[57], and those others who remained unreconstructed republicans opposed to the Medici. Alessandro de' Pazzi (a Medici kinsman) was prominent among the first group, and he proposed that the principate should run Florence together with the *ottimati*. Donato Giannotti, his secretary, also justified oligarchical government in his works and made religious reform a function of his republicanism. Antonio Brucioli was a significant member of the second group. Professor Mayer has specifically cited the presence of Brucioli in Venice in 1522 and again from 1526, and Donato Giannotti's residence in the city between 1525 and 1526 as significant examples of the transmission of Florentine political ideas to Venice.

Principal among the men who - Professor Mayer asserts - took part in this debate were the Venetians Pietro Bembo and Trifone Gabriele (ca. 1470-1549), the Paduan Niccolò Leonico, and the Englishman Thomas Starkey. However, it seems that the republicanism of Leonico and Bembo is hidden at best, and the most that Professor Mayer can assert in his study of Starkey is that:

> [Trifone] Gabriele helped to introduce the mainstream of Florentine republicanism to Padua and Leonico did not stand in its way, while both contributed to the nascent myth of Venice, at least through the *personae* that Giannotti created for them.[58]

As Dr Robert Barrington has demonstrated, Pole's 'circle' was more Italian than anything else, and Starkey seems to have existed on its very fringes.[59] To Gabriele and Giovanni Battista Egnazio (with whom it is not shown that Starkey had definite contact) Mayer assigns a 'new Guelphist' ideology opposed to tyrants, beginning with Julius Caesar, in both the Church and secular world. This is rather vaguely asserted, and no reasons for, or causes of, this phenomenon are adduced. Professor Mayer turns to Pazzi's importance in amalgamating Florentine and Venetian political theories without placing him properly within his Florentine or Venetian context. He notes Giannotti and his connections with Carlo Cappello and Antonio Brucioli without

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[56] T. F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal* (Cambridge, 1989) 44.
[57] *Ibid.* 55.
[58] *Ibid.*,50.
[59] Robert Barrington, 'Two Houses Alike in Dignity. Reginald Pole and Edmund Harvell', *The Historical Journal* vol.39, no.4 (December, 1996) 895-913.

elaborating on their significance. In addition, he notes other pre-1530 Florentine exiles such as Jacopo Nardi, Pier Filippo Pandolfini[60], Silvestro Aldobrandini[61], and Giovanni Borgherini without explaining their specific relationships with one another or with Venice.

Certainly, Giovanni Battista Egnazio and Trifone Gabriele (who were both friends of Contarini) supported the Florentine interpretation of Roman history which made Julius Caesar a tyrant for having destroyed liberty.[62] Moreover, Niccolò Machiavelli's views may have reached Contarini's ears on his return from Spain by means of his friend Carlo Cappello, who also knew Luigi Alamanni and Giannotti, both friends of Machiavelli. However, there is no evidence of direct contact with Machiavelli's views in spite of the many echoes and responses to them which can be found in the *De magistratibus*.[63] In this work, Contarini rebutted criticism of Venetian military incompetence, and lack of military training - the principal theme of Machiavelli's critique of Venice.[64] Giannotti's work on Venice, and Contarini's *De magistratibus* can be studied as testimonies to the exchange of ideas on oligarchical government which Dr Quentin Skinner has characterized as 'a more aristocratic form of Republicanism'.[65]

Giannotti's *Libro de la republica de Vinitiani* (Rome, 1540) was the most extended Florentine examination of the Venetian constitution during the sixteenth century. It was completed in large part by 1 November 1526 when Giannotti was in the Veneto, probably at Padua.[66] Giannotti visited Padua and Venice during June to November 1526, and again between February and July 1527. He does not seem to have added very much to the work after 1527. At least, there are no references to events after that date, although in 1533 he requested additional information on the numbers of citizens, 'popolari', and those who could carry arms as well as on the economy of Venice from

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[60] Pieralli (1901) 142.

[61] John N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512-1530* (Oxford, 1983) *ad ind.*; Starn (1968); von Albertini (1970); *DBI* 2: 112-14.

[62] Giovanni Battista Egnazio, *Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii Veneti de Cesaribus libri III a Dictatore Caesare ad Constantinum Palaeologum, hinc a Carolo Magno ad Maximilianum Caesarem* (Aldus: Venice, 1516-17); Trifone Gabriele, *Annotationi nel Dante fatte con M. Trifon Gabriele in Bassano* [composed 1527] (ed.) Lino Pertile (Bologna, 1993) Canto XXXIV, l. 65. Gabriele agreed with the Florentine humanist, Cristoforo Landino that Brutus and Cassius should have been placed in paradise for the murder of Caesar.

[63] Bouwsma (1968) 149, 16-17; and Myron Gilmore, 'Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory', in J. R. Hale (ed.) *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973) 431-43: 433-34 & 443 n.11, propose that Contarini possibly knew of the *Discorsi* (composed 1515-1517/18) before he composed *De magistratibus*.

[64] See above, ch. 7.

[65] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1978) I, 160.

[66] Von Albertini (1970)145, n.3; Starn (1968) 22, n.2 on dating the composition of the work.

the Venetian Marc' Antonio Michiel.[67] During his second stay in the Veneto, Giannotti acted as secretary to Alessandro de' Pazzi, the Florentine ambassador to Venice.[68] Pazzi arrived in Venice by 16 February 1527 and presented himself to the Signory flanked by, among others, the Venetian Andrea Mocenigo and the Florentine Baldassare Carducci who was shortly to be imprisoned at the behest of Clement VII.[69] Pazzi remained in Venice as ambassador until 14 April 1528.[70]

Giannotti's dialogue gained in its impact and its immediate political relevance from the way it was very carefully situated in the milieu of specific Paduans, Venetians, and Florentines. He was careful to describe how the dialogue was carried on during his stay at Padua between readily identifiable figures. In this way it stands in contrast to Contarini's work on Venice which eschewed the dialogue form for that of the treatise. In this way, Giannotti was able to convey the differences of opinion between Venetians and Florentines which were acceptable in a work primarily aimed at a Florentine audience. Contarini was less concerned to show the nature of internal political debate in Venice, although his work does bear traces of that debate.

At the opening of his book Giannotti thanked the Florentine Giovanni Borgherini, Trifone Gabriele, Girolamo Querini, and Niccolò Leonico. He stated that he was invited to Padua by Borgherini for literary pursuits.[71] He stated that he was introduced to Pietro Bembo (then living in Padua) by Borgherini, and that he visited the Latin and Greek scholar Leonico (who also lived in Padua). He described how Trifone Gabriele was staying in his villa where he had resided for some time 'far from any ambition, free from administration, removed from the many discomforts of the republic, which the civil life brings with it'.[72] He noted that Gabriele was engaged in reading Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Gabriele and Borgherini were the principal interlocutors of the work.

There was a multiplicity of connections between Venetians like Bembo and Leonico, and Florentines such as Pazzi, Giannotti, and Borgherini. Pazzi, who had been acquainted with Vincenzo Querini (probably in Florence in 1511-12) was in

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[67] L. A. Ferrai, 'Lettere inedite di Donato Giannotti', *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, ser. VI, vol. III, part II (1906) 1567-96: 1580-81.
[68] Donato Giannotti, *Lettere a Piero Vettori.* (eds.) R. Ridolfi and C. Roth (Florence, 1932) 6.
[69] Sanudo XLIV, coll.90-91.
[70] *Ibid.* XLVII, coll. 232-33. He later stated that he planned to leave on 19 April 1528: *ibid.* col.253.
[71] 'per dar opera in compagnia sua alle buone lettere'. Donato Giannotti, *Della republica et magistrati di Venetia libri V di m.Gasparo Contarini...con un Ragionamento intorno alla medesima di m.Donato Giannotti Fiorentino etc.* (Aldus: Venice, 1591) 109.
[72] 'lontano da ogni ambitione, libero dall'amministratione, della Repub. discosto da molte incommodità, che seco apporta la vita civile'. *Ibid.* 110.

correspondence with Bembo before his embassy. Bembo wrote to him on 21 November 1526 to say that he would offer him his house, his things, 'forze', as well as himself on account of them being 'for several years already, yours'.[73] In other letters Bembo discussed Pazzi's translations of *Electra* and *Œdipus*.[74] In a letter of 14 April 1528 Bembo expressed his regret at Pazzi's imminent departure, and asked to be remembered to Taddeo Taddei, and Pierfrancesco and Giovanni Borgherini in Florence.[75]

Bembo wrote to Giovanni Borgherini on 15 April 1529, noting that: 'When you were here I gave you a small Venetian History, written by Pietro Marcello, together with that of Leonardo Giustiniani'. Borgherini had taken one away with him to Florence and Bembo could not find a copy of it in Venice.[76] Later, Bembo asked the poet Bernardo Cappello to ask his brother Carlo (then ambassador in Florence) to obtain and return the book.[77] There is very little additional information on either Giovanni or Pierfrancesco Borgherini. A homonym of Pierfrancesco was at Rome in 1513 where he probably met Bembo, and Gianni Lascaris, and seems to have held curial office.[78] Pierfrancesco seems to have been well-acquainted with Leonico, and was in correspondence with both him and Bembo.[79] Giovanni Borgherini, who had also spent time in Rome[80], also knew Leonico[81] and Donato Giannotti. As Niccolò Capponi's son-in-law he wrote to Capponi to recommend Giannotti as secretary of the *Dieci di Libertà e Pace*. After the fall of Capponi he went to Venice where he refused financial aid to the besieged republic of Florence.[82] After 1530, despite their protestations of loyalty, Giovanni and Pierfrancesco were not among those erstwhile republicans reabsorbed by the Medici government.

Bembo also knew Giovanni Borgherini's friend Niccolò Ardinghelli, who came to Padua in November 1524. Bembo wrote to Niccolò's father Pietro offering to open his house to Niccolò to use as his own on account of the 'antico amore e fraterna' between

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[73] 'ché sono già buoni anni, vostro.' *Lettere* II, no.720.
[74] *Ibid.* nos. 741, 747.
[75] *Ibid.* no. 868.
[76] 'Io vi diedi, quando eravate qui, una Storietta Viniziana, scritta per M.Pietro Marcello, insieme con quella di M.Leonardo Giustiniano'. *Ibid.* III, no.947. The subsequent text indicates that it was Giustiniani's work which Borgherini had taken to Florence.
[77] *Ibid.* III, no.950 (26 April 1529).
[78] Augusto Campana, 'Manente Leontini Fiorentino, medico e traduttore di medici greci', *La Rinascita* IV (1941) 499-515: 501-02, 503 & n.1; H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence 1502-1519* (Oxford, 1985) 214.
[79] *Lettere* II, no.920.
[80] Giannotti (1591)188.
[81] *Lettere* III, no.947.
[82] Benedetto Varchi , *Storia fiorentina*, 3 vols., (Florence, 1857-8) II, 34, 278.

Bembo and the elder Ardinghelli.[83] Ardinghelli, another friend of Giannotti, was still studying in Padua in January 1526.[84] Bembo, Leonico, and Trifone Gabriele were all well-acquainted with one another and in regular contact during the 1520's and 1530's.[85] Leonico seems to have been very open to the attentions of scholars, and he had a particular affection for the English.[86]

Girolamo Querini, whom Giannotti also mentioned in his work, was a rather turbulent Patriarch of Venice, and he was often in conflict with the Venetian government and Rome on matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between 1525 and 1535.[87] He was on friendly literary terms with Bembo.[88] Giannotti may have come to know Querini through Bembo or Nicolò Dolfin.[89] In a letter of 30 June 1533 Giannotti described how he had read the whole of the work to Dolfin.[90] Dolfin held various government posts in Venice before his death in 1528. He edited an edition of *Il Decamerone* (Venice, 1516) and left in manuscript a work entitled: 'Orazione d'Isocrate a Nicocle re di Salamina' which was dated 20 February 1522.[91] This was a translation from Greek of the philosopher Isocrates' advice on the qualities required in a good king.[92] Dolfin wrote a letter of consolation to Bembo in 1519 on the death of his father, and on 13 November 1526 Bembo wrote to Bernardo Cappello in Venice asking to be remembered to both Carlo Cappello and Dolfin. Bembo also wrote a letter lamenting the loss to Venice occasioned by Dolfin's death.[93] Dolfin may also have known Antonio Brucioli during the latter's stay in Venice during 1522-26. Brucioli made Dolfin an interlocutor together with Carlo Cappello in the 1544-45 edition of his dialogue on clemency. In the dialogue on just princes Brucioli also made several references to Isocrates' work.[94]

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[83] *Lettere* II, no.496. See also *ibid.* nos. 497, 580.
[84] *Ibid.* II, no.640.
[85] *Ibid.* II, nos. 622, 689 (Bembo praises Leonico's learning in Greek and Latin); II, no.315 (In 1512 Bembo sends Gabriele parts of the *Volgare lingua*); II, no.810 (29 August 1527)(Bembo writes to Gabriele, referring to 'vostri dolcissimi studi'); II, no.1010 (Gabriele and Leonico on friendly terms).
[86] On Leonico see Daniella de Bellis, 'La vita e l'ambiente di Niccolò Leonico Tomeo', *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova*, XIII (1980), 37-75: particularly 46-47, 62-64 (Leonico and Bembo), 49-61 (Leonico and the English), and 69 (Leonico's epigram in praise of Alessandro Pazzi's *Electra* cited).
[87] On these disputes see Franco Gaeta, *Un nunzio pontificio aVenezia nel Cinquecento (Girolamo Aleandro)* (Venice and Rome, 1960) 51-8.
[88] *Lettere* III, no.1111 (18 June 1530) (P. Bembo to Querini); no.1431 (21 November 1532), nos. 1437,1440 (Bembo mentions a sonnet by Querini). Lucas Panetius dedicated his edition of Ficino's *Theologia Platonica* to Querini in 1525.
[89] There are letters and poetry from Querini to Dolfin in BNF Mss. Nuovi acquisti: 473; see also *DBI* 40: 565-71; G. B. Dolfin, *I Dolfin, patrizi veneziani* (Milan, 1923) 268-71.
[90] Ferrai (1906) 1580-81.
[91] Biblioteca arcivescovile di Udine ms. Italiano octavo IV. *Loc. cit. DBI* 40: 555.
[92] L. Gualdo Rosa, *La fede nella 'Paideia'. Aspetti della fortuna europea di Isocrate nei secoli XV e XVI* (Rome, 1984).
[93] *Lettere* II, nos.718, 878.
[94] Antonio Brucioli, *Dialogi*, (ed.) Aldo Landi (Naples, 1983) 341-46, 58 n.4; Pieralli (1901) 146.

In exile from Florence after 1530, Giannotti wrote to Niccolò Guicciardini in January, 1531 to thank Antonio Surian (Venetian ambassador to Florence during 1526-27, and to the papacy during 1530-35) for interceding with Clement VII on his behalf. In addition, in his letter to Marcantonio Michiel of 30 June 1533, Giannotti expressed his affection towards both Marco Foscari and Antonio Surian.[95] Giannotti was also close to Romolo Amaseo and Marc'Antonio Flaminio (who had placed both Bembo and Leonico in his dialogue of April, 1526 on the Venetian republic).[96] In 1533, as his letter indicates, Giannotti was acquainted with Michiel, whose connections with Contarini and the Murano 'circle' were extensive and long-standing.[97]

Giannotti could have made the acquaintance of Contarini (who was in Venice until October 1527) through any of the other Venetians he knew since they were all good friends of Contarini. Alternatively he could have known him through Pazzi. Alessandro Pazzi seems to have known Gasparo Contarini well enough in 1527 to praise affectionately his learning and friendship, as well as thank him for his scholarly aid in the dedication to Niccolò Leonico of his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*.[98] He dedicated his work on Venice to Francesco Nasi who had known Contarini for many years before 1529.[99] By May 1527 Giannotti was in some contact with Contarini

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[95] Starn (1968) 72; Ferrai (1906) 1583.

[96] Giannotti (1932) 19, 23.

[97] This is Giannotti's only known letter to Michiel, who knew Bembo (by 1519), Contarini (from at least 1510), Sadoleto, Tiepolo, Dolfin, Egnazio, and Navagero. Michiel was famed for his collection of art and antiquities. He also wrote *Agri et Urbis Bergomatis descriptio* which was published in *De origine et temporibus Urbis Bergomi Francisci Bellafini liber* (Venice, 1532) and is now conveniently reprinted with related studies in Maria Luisa Scalvini and Gian Piero Calza (eds.) *Bergamo 1516, città e territorio nella* Descriptio *di Marcantonio Michiel* (Padua, 1984) 48-73. A letter of 25 January 1519 records Conatrini and Niccolò Tiepolo's admiration for the work: *ibid.* 39. Michiel composed annotations to a *cronaca* of Andrea Dandolo; a diary of the years 1512-45 in BCV Ms. PD 684 C. or BCV Correr Ms. Cod. Cicogna 1022; and seems to have intended by this to write a history of Venice. In a letter of 12 May 1529 from Padua Pietro Bembo wrote that Michiel was always welcome to come because 'questa casa è sua', *Lettere* III, no. 966. However *ibid.* no.996 (4 July 1529) refers to *Marco* Michiel, son of Alvise qu. Maffio who was exiled in 1516 and 1518. See Jennifer Fletcher, 'Marcantonio Michiel's Collection', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXXVI (1973) 382-85; E. A. Cicogna, 'Intorno la vita e le opere di Marcantonio Michiel', *Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto* IX (1860) 359-425; Sanudo XXVI, col.69 (on 27 September 1518 Sanudo records that Michiel 'qual è docto in greco et latin' goes to Rome with Cardinal Pisani); *ibid.* XXVII, coll.223-25 (Letter of 17 April 1519 from Michiel to Tiepolo describing a learned female prophet in Rome, and asking Andrea Navagero and Egnazio for help in locating the works of Bernardo Giustiniani); *ibid.* coll. 272-74 (Letter of 4 May 1519 from Rome in which Michiel describes the work of Michelangelo, Raphael, and others).

[98] '...Gasparis Contareni summi in genii viri, summaeq; literaturae. Is enim, ut est etiam humanissimus, tum morum elegantia, tum bonitate aevo nostro prope unicus, statim mihi amicissimus factus, lucubrationes nostras non solum diligenter legit, sed plurimis in locis annotavit & emendavit...' Aristotle, *Aristotelis Poetica, per Alexandrum Paccium, patritium Florentinum, in latinum conversa.* (Venice, 1536) sig. A.iiii.v. The copy in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, pressmark L.180.g, is inscribed: 'J. Addington Symonds...Coll: Ball:...Dec/58.'

[99] On 25 September 1529 Contarini reported from Bologna that he had invited Nasi, the Florentine ambassador there, to dinner: 'In questo stesso giorno era giunto qui D.Francesco Nasi mandato da Firenze...Io per intendere qualche particularità da questo oratore el qual già molti anni mi è amico lo

because he and Paolo Pazzi obtained letters of favour for Bernardo Segni and Paolo Antonio Soderini (Florentines in Venice and Padua respectively) from Contarini and Dolfin.[100]

Giannotti's work on Venice (which was published in 1540 at Bembo's urging[101]) may therefore be read as an expression of both long-standing Florentine interest in Venetian institutions given renewed intensity after 1526, and of Venetian views of republicanism in its post-Cognac 'new-Guelphist' form.[102] Like Contarini, Giannotti explained at the outset the impression which a city could make upon the traveller, and the traveller's consequent desire to relate what he had seen. Since leaving Florence, he had had discussions with two Venetians and a Paduan about the nature of Venetian administration which was: '...extremely worthy to be understood and considered, [and] viewed with no less admiration in our time, than that of the Spartans and Romans among the ancients;...'[103] However, Trifone Gabriele noted that Venice was no less happy for having a smaller empire than the Romans, because tranquillity and universal peace rather than greatness were key to a republic's happiness, and Venice surpassed the Romans in this respect.[104] The interlocutors - Gabriele and the Florentine Giovanni Borgherini - went on to dismiss the work of Marc'Antonio Coccio (Sabellico) on account of its failure to depict 'the form, the composition, [and] the temper of this Republic'. Gabriele asserted (again, like Contarini) that each republic was like a human body, each part of the whole should be proportioned correctly, but Sabellico had failed to explain how one part of the republic was linked

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invitai l'altra sera ad cenar meco et con lui ragionai gran pezzo ne possi cavar da lui particularità alcuna di momento...' Felix Gilbert, 'The Date of the Composition of Contarini's and Giannotti's Books on Venice', *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967) 172-84: 173, n.12. Professor Lauro Martines has argued that in Renaissance Italy breakfast was a business meal, while close friends would meet to eat after dusk. See his 'The Italian Renaissance Tale as History', in Alison Brown (ed.) *Language and Images in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995) ch.12: 314.

[100] Lupo Gentile, 'Studi sulla storiografia fiorentina alla corte di Cosimo', *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 19 (1906) 1-164: 141.

[101] Bouwsma (1968) 159.

[102] According to Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: literary dialogue in its social and political contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1992) the Ciceronian form of dialogue predominated in Italy as it was most suited to a hierarchical and courtly society. A politically fragmented Italy meant that placing famous contemporaries in the dialogues created some sense of a unified elite. Such a strategy also allowed the writer to stake a claim in courtly society, and many people in turn were pleased and flattered to be depicted as immortality was thereby conferred upon them. The dialogue allows the vulgar and the highbrow to be politely addressed and throws open questions which the writer resolves more or less opaquely in the extent of his involvement in the text. Giannotti it should be noted, defines his presence in the text very clearly in terms of geography and social interaction with the Venetians and Paduans.

[103] '...cioè l'amministratione della Rep. Venetiana, dignissima certamente d'essere intesa & considerata, ne anchora con minore ammiratione ne tempi nostri, che ne gli antichi quella de Lacedemoni, & de Romani riguardata;...' Giannotti (1591) 108-09.

[104] *Ibid.* 114.

to the other.[105] Gabriele accepted that there might be faults in the Venetian system, but he added that Rome and Sparta were not perfect.

The work proceeded in a familiarly Aristotelian fashion with a description of Venice's site, its foundation by those fleeing Attila, its military strength and power, the growth of its institutions, and the pyramidical structure of Doge-Senate-Great Council.[106] As a result of these foundations, Venice had maintained itself 'libera' and had even expanded. Even though Venetian troops had been routed in 1509 and the Republic had entailed great expense, no civil tumult had followed. Indeed, so successful had the Venetian institutions proved that in 1494 Florence copied its Great Council, and in 1502 set up a perpetual *gonfaloniere* after the model of the doge.[107] After describing the intricacies of ballotting in the Greater Council, and the *pregadi*, Giannotti describes the doge as the apex of the pyramid of government.[108] Gabriele noted that Doge Andrea Gritti had not added anything to the pomp of the ducal creation, and indeed it was marvellous for people to observe that so great an honour was not achieved by violence, in the manner of tyrants, but was conceded by the laws and ordering of the Republic.[109] In addition, corruption in the process of ballotting for office was prevented by the censors (which were in fact suppressed in 1521).[110]

While it is inevitably problematic to attempt to ascribe to the *persona* of 'Trifone Gabriele' in the dialogue the actual views of Trifone Gabriele, it is nevertheless clear that Giannotti had given Gabriele many opinions which are close to those he himself expressed. His disdain for Roman imperialism accords well with the sentiments he expressed in his annotations to Dante.[111] Giannotti further described how Gabriele had retired to his villa, far from secular ambition and devoted to literature. Gabriele himself replied to Borgherini's comparison of him with Pomponius Atticus by saying that he had not withdrawn from civil life because of civil corruption and he praised Venice very liberally. Similarly, the 'real' Gabriele was refusing all ecclesiastical, literary, and political distinctions at precisely this moment. In August 1527 he expressed his disinclination to be considered for the bishopric of Treviso and wrote in a letter: '...mitres and crowns are for others...' In a letter of 4 April 1529 he wrote to

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[105] *Ibid.* 115-16. Book 11 of Bernardo Giustiniani's history and 'privati scritti' provided by Leonico are mentioned at 134 &135.
[106] *Ibid.* 117-32.
[107] *Ibid.* 136-41.
[108] *Ibid.* 148-68, 168-79, 179-89 respectively.
[109] *Ibid.* 187.
[110] *Ibid.* 221-22. Sanudo XXXI, col.37. Their activities were taken over by the *avogadori di comun.*
[111] Giannotti (1591) 114, 187. See above, ch.8.

Vincenzo Rimondo that: '...actions are not fitting for me... nor [are] the squares and Rialtos, but studies, closed valleys, high mountains, and sunny shores...' [112]

Trifone Gabriele has been described as a 'lay monk' who devoted his life to literature, but who did not publish anything during his lifetime.[113] He was a friend of Pietro Bembo as well as of Contarini, Querini, and Giustiniani. His annotations to Dante's Inferno were made around 1525-27 (with the possible collaboration of Vettore Soranzo) and made into fair manuscript copy at Rome during 1530-34.[114] The modern editor of this work has remarked that: 'Trifone's position is quite independent [of Dante's], particularly in ideological matters..[and Trifone is] a Guelph, loyal and proud of his *patria*...'[115] Gabriele therefore described how Venice arose out of the division of the Roman Empire.[116] He disagreed with Dante's decision to place Brutus and Cassius in the Inferno for the murder of Caesar: '...that in truth, as [Cristoforo] Landino says, for this they ought to be placed in the highest circles of Paradise; but [Dante] was too imperial, and too much inclined to adulate that party'.[117] In the context of the events of 1525-29 these words must have carried an unmistakeable political weight to Gabriele's audience and readers, particularly as the figure of Brutus was an important symbolic figure to Florentine republicans opposed to the Medici and imperial power.[118] Significantly, it was about this time (1525-27) that Giannotti was composing his work on Venetian institutions in which Gabriele was the principal Venetian interlocutor.

Another Venetian friend of Contarini who can be associated with the anti-imperial or 'new guelphist' theme was Giovanni Battista Egnazio.[119] In his work on the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Maximilian he noted 'the dictator Caesar, who first

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[112] '...siano degli altri le mitre e le corone...' ; '...il mio propio non sono attioni...ma studi non piazze, et Rialti, ma valli chiuse, alti colli e piagge apriche...' Quoted in E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols., (Venice, 1824-61) III, 209, 217. The last passage echoes Petrarch's *canzoniere* no. CCCIII.

[113] Lino Pertile, 'Trifone Gabriele's commentary on Dante and Bembo's "Prose della volgar lingua"' *Italian Studies* XL (1985) 17-30: 19. On Gabriele see Cicogna (1824-61) III, 208-23.

[114] Gabriele (1993) pp.LXXIV-VII, LXXX, LXXXI-LXXXV, LXXXIX; Deborah Parker, *Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance* (Durham, N.C., 1993) ch.4 on Gabriele and Cristoforo Landino's Dante; *eadem*, 'Commentary as Social Act: Trifone Gabriele's critique of Landino', *Renaissance Quarterly* XLV (1992) 225-47.

[115] Pertile (1985) 21.

[116] Gabriele (1993) 282.

[117] '...che in verità, come dice il Landino, sono per quel conto da esser posti ne' più alti scanni del Paradiso; ma [Dante] fu troppo imperiale e troppo vuol adular quella parte'. *Ibid.* 113.

[118] M. Piccolomini, *Brutus Revived: parricide and tyrannicide during the Renaissance* (Illinois, 1991). Gabriele is not mentioned by this study.

[119] On 'guelphism' see Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1966) 16-24, 96-98. Here it is taken to mean an historical philosophy developed by Leonardo Bruni and Machiavelli involving the defence of civic freedom and the Church with French support, against imperial claims. For recent challenges to Baron's thesis see 'AHR Forum' in the *American Historical Review* 101 (February, 1996) 107-44; Skinner (1978) I, chs. 1-6.

oppressed the liberty of the fatherland...'[120] His contemporaneous panegyric to Francis I celebrated that king and his victory (at Marignano) over the Swiss and commemorated the aid which France had provided for Venice as her towns and fields had been devastated by the 'monstrous Germans: and by the Swiss, a more monstrous enemy than Germany...'[121] Egnazio's *De exemplis*, which he worked on from at least 1511 and was published posthumously in 1554, was concerned with Venetian piety, particularly as expressed in the crusades and Venice's role in sheltering Alexander III. No clear conception of solidarity between Venice and other Italian republican states was mooted.[122] Andrea Mocenigo, who was another friend of Contarini, composed a history of the war of the League of Cambrai (composed 1515-18; published 1525) which ignored the significance of Florence and Venice struggling together as republican cities against a despot in the Milanese war under Foscari, but made the cause of Venice in the wars of Cambrai that of Italy. The Venetians, therefore, were fighting for the liberty of Italy and against the Ottomans.[123]

Something of the nature of the Florentine community in Venice and the way its intellectual life might have influenced or been affected by Venetians can be understood by a comparison with the English community at Padua and Venice during this period. One recent study has clearly shown the 'openness' of the English intellectual community there, both in terms of new ideas and towards Venetians, other Englishmen, and Germans. There is a distinction to be made between the style and nature of Reginald Pole's household of 1526-35 which was peripatetic, aristocratic, Italianate, and open to 'spirituali' with that of Edmund Harvell which was more settled (in Venice), mercantile, and proto-Protestant. Harvell's household at least rivalled Pole's as an attractive centre for visiting Englishmen during the 1530's, and may indeed have provided a better support system for those visitors. Pole's intellectual reputation and social status definitely made him more attractive to those with humanist pretensions. In 1535, Contarini was recorded as a frequent visitor at Pole's house[124], and Pole of course had strong connections with Bembo, Leonico, and others of the Paduan intellectual community. Bembo and Leonico appear to have been particularly open to such outside influences, whether Florentine or English. It is

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120 Egnazio (1516-7) sig. HS 4v.

121 'Immanes Rheti: Rhetoque immanior hostis/ Helvetius...' Giovanni Battista Egnazio, *Ioannis Baptiste Egnatii Veneti ad Christianissimi & Invictissimum Francorum Regem Franciscum huius nominis primum De eius in Italiam felicissimo adventu: Deque clarissima ex Helvetiis Victoria Panegyricus*...(Ex aedibus Minutianus: Milan, 30 November, 1515) sig. Aiiv.

122 Giovanni Battista Egnazio, *De exemplis illustrium virorum Venetae Civitatis atque aliarum gentium* (Apud Bernardum Turisanum: Paris, 1554).

123 'Belli Memorabilis Cameracensis adversus Venetos Historiae libri sex...' in J. G. Graevius (ed.) *Thesaurus Antiquitatem et Historiarum Italiae*, 9 vols., (Leiden, 1723-5) V, part II, coll.3-4, 8, 10.

124 James Gairdner (ed.) *Letter Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII.* 21 vols., (London, 1886) IX, no.512.

tempting to suggest a contrast with Florence which did not possess a university or overseas possessions, and which was less accessible from either northern or eastern Europe.[125]

Pietro Bembo has often appeared as a friend and patron of the Florentines and Englishmen who have been considered. It is therefore perhaps useful to consider his importance as a specifically political or historical writer. Carlo Dionisotti has argued that Bembo's paramount stylistic interests accounted for the mediocrity of his history of Venice.[126] A more recent study has suggested in passing that in *Gli Asolani* (published 1503) Bembo wished to invent a new courtly society and to give it a form with which to express itself. It was Bembo's first 'essay in an ongoing exploration of the relation between intellectuals and power wielders of the sort [Baldassare] Castiglione also pursued'.[127]

The evidence for his views of Florence provided by Bembo's writing is inconclusive at best. In a letter written at the time of the meeting of the pope and the emperor at Bologna in 1529, Bembo commented laconically: 'De' Fiorentini mi piace'. A month later, writing from Bologna, he described the complexion of Italian politics to a friend in Spain: '...and now by the arrival of your king, peace will be made everywhere, except Florence; in which [city] by its grim fate, now derive all the discomforts of these lands. By this peace we may hope for a long rest, and a good and happy age'.[128] Both comments could indicate either Bembo's imperial or his Florentine sympathies. However, Bembo's presence at Bologna was a significant moment in the development of the Italian vernacular as a literary language common to the Italian peninsula. It is possible that Bembo's sympathy for and interest in Florentines at Bologna was encouraged by the literary recognition he and his work gained on this occasion. The years 1525-8 saw the publication of works by Bembo, Baldassare Castiglione, and

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[125] Robert Barrington, 'Philosophy and the Court in the Literature of the Early English Renaissance', (Unpublished European University Institute Ph.D. thesis, 1992) appendix II: 'Associates of Pole in the Veneto.'; *idem*, (1996); Mayer (1989); Kenneth R. Bartlett, *The English in Italy 1525-58. A Study in Culture and Politics* (Geneva, 1991) ch.5 describes how Englishmen in Venice were protected by the state. T. F. Mayer, 'When Maecenas was Broke: Cardinal Pole's "Spiritual" patronage', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* XXVII/2 (1996) 419-35, especially 425-26, confirms Barrington's view of Pole's household and failure to provide practical patronage.

[126] Pietro Bembo, *Prose e Rime* (ed.) Carlo Dionisotti (Turin, 1960; reprinted 1980) 51-2.

[127] Mayer (1989) 51.

[128] *Lettere* III, no.1029 (16 November 1529); '...e per la venuta del vostro Re in Italia ora si fa pace in tutta lei, da Fiorenza in fuori: nella quale, per sinistro suo fato, ora derivano tutti gli incommodi di questi paesi. Per la quale pace potemo sperare una lunga quiete e un buono e felice secolo'. *Ibid.* no. 1035 (17 December 1529).

Giangiorgio Trissino which associated the idea of Italian national unity with a common Italian language.[129]

Bembo's only extended piece of historical or political writing is his history of Venice. In 1529 he excused his disinclination to undertake the history of Venice from 1487 with which he was charged by the government on the grounds that : '...I am somewhat removed from that life and those public actions which are largely the substance of history...'[130] His work on the history (finally published in 1551 in Latin, and in Italian in 1552-3) certainly proceeded at a deadly slow pace between 1529 and 1536 and his consultations and communication of successive drafts to Jacopo Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras (a supreme Ciceronian stylist), and Vettore Soranzo (a student of Tuscan literature), suggest that he was more concerned with style than with substance.[131]

Bembo was certainly consulted Venetian histories for factual background. He made use of Bernardo Giustiniani's *Istoria*, Pietro Marcello's *Cronica*[132], Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Istoria*[133], and Marino Sanudo's *Istorie*[134] - and possibly Contarini's manuscript *De magistratibus.*[135] However, he gave little indication of his opinion of these works. He applied for and obtained permission to use Sanudo's diaries, and Sanudo reluctantly gave them up.[136] He was presumably commenting on these when he slightingly remarked that he found in them: 'no small use, insofar as I have almost all things and their times; which alleviates my burden. But of the true cause of things, within and without Venice, I am constrained to look elsewhere, because in it there is little that is of moment or judgement'.[137]

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[129] Carlo de Santis, 'Latin versus Vernacular in Renaissance Italy. The development of the controversy with special reference to Carlo Sigonio's *De Latinae linguae usu retinendo* (1556)', *Rinascimento* XXXV (1995) 349-71: 352-60.

[130] '...io sono assai rimoto da quella vita e da quelle azion publiche che sono in gran parte materia della istoria...' *Lettere* no. 988 (21 June 1529)

[131] *Ibid.* no.1168 (23 October 1530) (Bembo complains that 'la nostra patria m'ha posto in un grande labirinto' for the sake of this history. He planned to spend one or two months in Venice collecting materials for it.); no.1317 (26 December 1531) (Bembo was working on book one); no. 1332 (22 February 1532) (Bembo sends part of the book to Vettor Soranzo); no. 1489 (25 April 1533) (Bembo sends three books to Sadoleto); no. 1575 (8 June 1534) (Bembo had completed only five books); no.1655 (9 January 1535) (Bembo sends another draft to Sadoleto); no.1805 (16 November 1536) (Bembo was occupied with Book 8, i.e. the recovery of Padua in 1509).

[132] *Ibid.* no.1195 (4 February 1531).

[133] *Ibid.* no.1747 (February, 1536)

[134] *Ibid.* no.1267 (7 August 1531)

[135] *Ibid.* no.1678 (22 April 1535)

[136] *Ibid.* no.1275 (2 September 1531)

[137] '...utilità non poca, in quanto ho pur quasi tutte le cose e i tempi loro; che mi leva fatica. Ma de le vere cause de le cose, e di fuora e nella Patria, convengo cercare altrove, ché in lui poco si vede di momento e di iudizio'. *Ibid.* no.1805 (16 November 1536)

In his completed work Bembo invented a speech for Doge Leonardo Loredan at the moment of Venice's struggle to regain Padua in 1509 which was vaguely patriotic.[138] He also described how in 1494 the people of Nissa (one of the islands of the Cyclades) gave themselves to Venice in order to avoid the tyranny of Giovanni Crispo's concubine and children. He also described the valour of the citizens of Treviso in 1509 and praised their loyalty.[139] In general terms Bembo's work is patriotic, episodic, and rarely rises above the level of a chronicle with the exception of books VII to IX which describe the events of 1508-9. Bembo's narrative is particularly notable for revealing the debates and divisions among the Venetian patricians during the Republic's moment of crisis. The apathetic reaction of the Venetian government to Agnadello is described with a vehemence which provoked official censorship of the work before publication.[140]

iii. '...at every hour I am melancholy'
Florentine exiles in Venice after 1527

Perhaps encouraged by the welcome their compatriots had received in Venice and Padua during the 1520's, a new wave of Florentine immigrants came to Venice after 1527. They formed one part of a more general exodus of refugees from the battle-torn Romagna and elsewhere.[141] In addition, famine in the Veneto had caused large-scale immigration of destitute peasants to Venice from 1527 onwards. Their presence in the streets threatened typhus and provoked a rise in unemployment. The Venetian government was forced to implement measures to deal with them, and many foreign beggars were turned away from the city.[142] Some of the Florentines who arrived at this difficult time are identifiable as men hostile towards the republican regime of Niccolò Capponi or Baldassare Carducci. In 1529 Filippo del Bene, Luigi Gherardi, Lodovico de' Nobili, and Tommaso di Giunta refused to help Florence which was besieged by imperial and papal forces. Matteo di Lorenzo Strozzi appears to have been among those Florentines who refused to aid the city in 1529. He had fled to Venice in October 1529 and seems to have acted as a spokesman for the moderates after Capponi's fall.

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138 *Ibid.* no.1611 (15 September 1534); Pietro Bembo, *Della istoria viniziana libri dodici*, 2 vols., (Milan, 1809) I, 369-82.
139 Bembo (1809) I, 101-2; II, 162-63.
140 On this see Lester J. Libby Jr., 'Venetian Patriotic Humanism in the Early Sixteenth Century' (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Brown University, 1971) ch.V.
141 Sanudo XLIV, col.599 ('assaissimi forestieri' in Venetian territory in April, 1527); XLV, col.356 ('gran moltitudine di forestieri' in Venetian territory in June, 1527).
142 Pullan (1971) ch.3. I would like to thank Dr Patricia Allerston for drawing my attention to the economic and social conditions of Venice during 1527-28. On all of the men mentioned in this section see below, Appendix 1.

There is some evidence that Venice could provide a base for the activities of those opposed to the Carducci regime in Florence. In the course of the Florentine *pratica* of May 1529, suspicions about one Antonio Guiducci, resident in Venice, were raised. The Gonfalonier of Justice, Niccolò Carducci, proposed that Bartolomeo Gualtierotti, the Florentine ambassador in Venice, should be informed that Guiducci had 'used certain words suspect of some machinations...', and that Gualtierroti should endeavour to discover whether they had any substance. It is much less clear whether Michelangelo Buonarroti's transfer from Florence to Venice in September-October 1529 was motivated by political unease about the Carducci regime. He had been in charge of the fortifications at San Miniato before he was moved to go to Venice where he was offered aid by the Republic, intent on gaining his services in the design of the new Rialto bridge. Nevertheless, his friends in Florence secured his property and a safeconduct providing for his return within a month which ensured that he avoided being declared an outlaw by the Florentine signory.

The fall of the republic in 1530 caused a number of Florentine republican supporters to move to Venice. Gasparo Contarini and Doge Gritti rejected the emperor's demand for the delivery or extradition of Lutherans, anti-Imperialists, anti-Mediceans, and bandits at the conclusion of the peace in Bologna on 23 December 1529.[143] Among those post-1530 exiles was Pier Filippo Pandolfini who was an active participant in the 1527 revolution, and an opponent of the Capponi regime. He was one of those men in 1529 who addressed the militia of Florence. In 1530 he fled to Venice, where he was killed in a brawl by a fellow exile. Giovan Francesco della Stufa was among those actually condemned to be sent thirty miles from Florence for three years on 25 November 1530. He seems to have received a safeconduct for himself and his brother from Venice five months later, and he was still in Venice in 1534. Silvestro Aldobrandini was imprisoned in 1530 for his support for Capponi's regime and his opposition to Clement VII. He was pardoned and went to Venice where he was charged with the reform of the Republic's laws.

Giovanni Battista Adriani defended Florence against the imperial troops in 1529-30 before fleeing to Padua where he continued his studies in philosophy and became acquainted with Benedetto Varchi (in exile from 1537), Pietro Bembo, Marcantonio Flaminio, and Gasparo Contarini. Other Florentines in Venice during 1530-31 were Giovanni Naldino, chancellor of Florence, and the impoverished Piero Perini. Prominent among the Florentine exiles in Venice between 1530 and 1537, when their

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[143] Aldo Stella, 'Tensioni religiose e movimenti di riforma (durante il dogado di Andrea Gritti)', in Manfredo Tafuri (ed.) *"Renovatio Urbis" Venezia nell' età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)* (Rome, 1984) 134-47: 135. However, not all patricians agreed with this policy: Sanudo LIII, coll. 65-8, 154-6, 166-8.

hopes were focused on Ippolito de' Medici as a moderate alternative to Alessandro de' Medici, was Jacopo Nardi. He was in exile in Pitigliolo between 1530 and 1533. He was sentenced to exile in Livorno but fled to Venice where he arrived in December 1534. He described the arrival of the *fuorusciti* in this way:

> ...and similarly in Venice we were welcomed humanely, as worthy of much compassion. But the temerity of some youths diminished their reputation with the death of Pierfilippo Pandolfini following private quarrels. He had come in such expectation that, taking the habit of the Venetian toga, he was listened to with great attention and marvel of this city in the profession which he had happily begun of publicly promoting the cause, as was done in that city according to Roman custom. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the aforementioned disorder, the privilege to carry arms was conceded to forty-five, who waited in Venice for the death of Pope Clement... [144]

However, their presence did not arouse entirely favourable comment in Venice, and Nardi was obliged to refute the assertions of some Venetian 'calunniatori' that the opponents of the Medici were all people of 'base and ignoble condition'.[145]

Nevertheless, until about 1536, those exiles in Venice were less elevated socially than the others, such as Cardinals Salviati and Ridolfi, who were based in Rome and who supported Ippolito de' Medici. Several members of the Strozzi family established themselves in Venice after 1536 when they began to use their financial power and political weight to form a coherent opposition to Alessandro de' Medici. Filippo Strozzi, who until 1534 was 'no champion of Florentine liberties', had initially supported the rule of Alessandro de' Medici.[146] However, after Clement VII's death had damaged his commercial interests, and Alessandro had accused Filippo's sons of consorting with Florentine exiles, Strozzi, who certainly knew Jacopo Nardi in Rome at this time, closed the palace at Rome in 1535, sent his sons to different parts of Italy, and announced his own imminent departure for Venice. In a rather contrite letter of April 1535 he described how '...at every hour I am melancholy for my little prudence

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[144] '...e similmente in Vinezia furono veduti umanamente, come degni di molta compassione. Ma la temerità d'alcuni giovani tolse loro molto di riputazione, essendo seguita per le loro private contese la morte di Pierfilippo di Alessandro Pandolfini, il quale era venuto in tale concetto e espettazione, che, preso l'abito della toga viniziana, era ascoltato con grande attenzione e maraviglia di quella città nella professione che egli aveva cominciato felicemente a fare delle agitare pubblicamente le cause, come si fa in quella città secondo la consuetudine della repubblica romana. Nondimeno, non ostante il sopra detto disordine, fu conceduto a' detti fuorusciti il privilegio del portar l'armi insino al numero di quarantacinque, chè tanti allora se ne trovavano in Venezia, i quali, attendendo alla giornata la propinqua morte di papa Clemente...' Jacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze* (ed.) L. Arbib, 2 vols., (Florence, 1842) II, 266-67.

[145] Jacopo Nardi, 'Discorso fatto in Venezia contro ai calunniatori del popolo fiorentino' in *Vita di Antonio Giacomini e altri scritti minori di Jacopo Nardi* (Florence, 1867) 227-311: 227-28.

[146] This judgement is in Melissa M. Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: favour and finance in sixteenth-century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge, 1980) 177.

and too great disgrace, which has constricted me so that I must renounce my natural homeland, and choose another'.[147]

Filippo Strozzi's sons Pietro, Ruberto, and Lorenzo were living in the Veneto from 1534, 1535, and 1537 respectively. The elder Strozzi received a safeconduct from Venice in June 1536, and the government robustly defended their action in the face of imperial protest on the grounds that anyone who came to Venice was free and secure there. They added:

> ...that this was a free city and homeland, to which anyone might contibute at his pleasure...Therefore, we do not doubt that Your Holiness by his goodness will remain satisfied with our honest observance, ascribing this to nothing other than our desire to conserve this our city in that freedom and security in which it has been conserved by our ancestors since its foundation to the present day, and we seek in imitation of them to conserve and maintain [it].[148]

Filippo Strozzi was free to base himself in Venice between September 1535 and July 1537 while he organized the forces of the exiles which were defeated by Cosimo de' Medici's troops at Montemurlo in July 1537. In January 1537 he wrote: 'I have never much valued exile, on the contrary I am more resolute to live in Venice which pleases me greatly on account of its site, customs, and my being well liked and welcomed'.[149] At this moment, the fortunes of the exiles seemed to be improving as Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici assassinated Alessandro de' Medici. He fled to Venice where he met Filippo Strozzi and was rewarded with comparisons to Brutus the tyrannicide, and to David the giant slayer by the exiles. However, Lorenzo did not emerge as a leader of opposition factions in Florence and may indeed have left Italy for France or Constantinople after Montemurlo. During 1544-48 he was living in the Venetian district of Canareggio with his mother. The Ten denied him a safeconduct (and therefore the right to carry arms) as they judged him to be 'wise and prudent' enough

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147 '...mi dolgo ogni ora meco medesimo della mia poca prudentia o troppa disgratia, quale mi ha in grado condotto che mi pare essere costretto, renuntiando alla naturale patria, eleggerne un' altra'. Letter of 29 April 1535 to Francesco Vettori in Florence: Alessandro Bardi, 'Filippo Strozzi (da nuovi documenti)', *ASI* ser. V, XIV (1894) 3-78: 77. In the same letter Strozzi praised Nardi warmly and described how Nardi was one of 150 exiles at Livorno, there he and his family had been reduced to great poverty. *Ibid.* 75.

148 '...che da questa cita fusseno licenciati quantunque la cognoscesse, ch el venir et star qui fusse libero et securo ad à cadauno...Dicendo, che questa era cita, et patria libera, alla quale cadauno potera conferirse ad suo beneplacito...Non dubitamo adunque che V.Sa. per bonta sua remanera satisfatta de tal honesta rispetto nostro, non lo ascrivendo ad altro, che al nostro desiderio di conservare questa nostra cita in quella liberta, et securta che a primis fondamentis fino al giorno presente li maiori nostri ne la hano [sic] conservata: et nui imitando quelli, cerchamo [sic] di conservar, et mantenir'. ASV Consiglio X secreto, reg. no.4 (1533-39) ff.58v-59v. (deliberation of 3 July 1536).

149 'Lo esilio non ho mai molto stimato, anzi in ogni evento mi ero più fa risoluto vivere in Venezia, satisfacendomi grandemente il sito, li costumi, e essendovi bene visto e carezzato'. Filippo Strozzi, *Tragedia di G.- B. Niccolini, corredata d'una vita di Filippo e di documenti inediti* (Florence, 1847) 226.

to look after himself. In 1548 he was assassinated by Duke Cosimo de' Medici's men who had been spying on him for some time.[150]

Filippo Strozzi was captured at Montemurlo and seems to have killed himself in 1538. However, his sons Ruberto, Pietro, and Lorenzo remained in Venice where they were supported by the French government. Lorenzo Strozzi later wrote of his father's transfer to Venice :

> ...so that he might see in another country that liberty which he was not allowed to experience in his own, and to live [there] more securely, being fitting to that Republic easily to receive and to welcome all strangers, particularly virtuous and well qualified men, loving above all the defence of liberty...[151]

Aretino himself praised Pietro Strozzi in a letter in 1542 for going into exile in defence of the liberty of his country.[152] An anonymous dialogue (ca.1538-42) depicted Florentine exiles in Ferrara discussing the high hopes for political change favourable to themselves following the Franco-Venetian alliance. They noted that Ruberto Strozzi was among the exiles in Ferrara at that time. The brothers were expelled from Venice in 1542 after the French ambassador became involved in a case of treason involving Venetian officials and Turkish secrets.[153] In 1547 the imperial governor of Milan wondered that Venice had tolerated Pietro Strozzi's presence for so long by saying that the city was free.[154] In 1554, the heads of the Ten, in refusing the English Queen Mary's request for the arrest of her ambassador's servants, noted that it had frequently denied similar requests to many princes, ambassadors, and others, because so many people proceeded freely to the Veneto, where everybody spoke according to their opinions. However, they noted that it was not customary to take them at their word, and that a similar system obtained at other courts.[155]

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150 ...circa la persona sua [Lorenzo de' Medici] noi lo conoscemo savio, et prudente, et siamo certi che'l non mancherà di governarsi, come li parerà espediente per la sicurtà soa'. ASV, Consiglio X secr. 1547-48. Reg. 6, f.5v (deliberation of 25 May 1547). The Ten considered his case again the next day, and came to the same conclusion.

151 '...& à Venezia trasferirsi, per vedere nell' altrui Patria quella Libertà, che nella sua godere non gli era permesso, e vivere più sicuramente, essendo proprio à quella Republica accogliere lietamente, & accarezzare tutti li Forastieri, e massime gli huomini vituosi, e ben qualificati, amando oltremodo la difesa della Libertà...' Lorenzo Strozzi, 'La Vita di Filippo Strozzi' in J. G. Graevius (ed.) *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, 9 vols., (Leiden, 1723-5) VIII, coll. 1-68: col. 52.

152 Rosand (1982) 126, 131 n.69.

153 Paolo Simoncelli, 'Repubblicani fiorentini in esilio. Nuove testimonianze (1538-1542)', in A. Murrogh, F. Superbi Goffredi, P. Marselli, and E. Borsook (eds.) *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, 2 vols., (Florence, 1985) I, 217-35. Pierre Gauthiez, *Lorenzaccio (Lorenzino de' Medici) 1514-1548* (Paris, 1904) 270-71 also discusses this work.

154 Rawdon Brown (ed.)*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs in the Libraries of Venice and Northern Italy* (London, 1864) V, no. 456 (7 February 1547).

155 *Ibid.* no.903 (22 June 1554).

The examples of Filippo Strozzi and Lorenzino de' Medici present a rather gloomy picture of the exile. Cut off from their homeland, surrounded by hostile spies (including members of their own fraternity), and divided amongst themselves, these men sometimes resorted to extreme and hopeless measures to restore their fortunes. Their appeals to Charles V at Naples in 1536 were received with indifference and, for all its fine words, the Venetian government was quite happy to deny Lorenzino de' Medici the right to carry arms, and therefore to leave him defenceless against his assassins. After the defeat of the hopes of Florentine republicans at Montemurlo in 1537, the exiles either sought to return to Medici favour or decided to settle in Venice. For some exiles, Venice provided a refuge and some measure of security. Antonio Brucioli and his brothers took advantage of Venice's preeminence as a printing centre and Antonio at least remained in the city for the rest of his life. Jacopo Nardi married a Venetian and, despite his initial difficulties, ended up as a 'huomo venerando, & quasi Oracolo della Nation Fiorentina...'[156]

However, during the rest of the century the most significant group of exiles were those seeking religious tolerance, whether from the Marian regime in England, or from the Inquisitions of Naples and Rome. An outspoken opponent of Clement VII came to Venice in 1530. Fra Zaccaria di Lunigiana, the *piagnone* friar of S. Marco, was hired by the Venetian government in August 1532 to read scripture at the church of S. Salvador which stood near the Rialto. During 1532-33 he preached at Sa Trinità near the Arsenal, at the Crociferi in Canareggio, and at the church of S. Polo (in the heart of the Florentine district). He was received by Gregorio Cortese, the Benedictine abbot at S. Giorgio Maggiore. Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542), the papal nuncio noted disapprovingly in 1533 that they were reading *Ecclesiastes* and the *Epistles of St Paul* in the vernacular in church, a circumstance which, he added, had led to Lutheranism in Germany. The following year the Aleandro noted that Lunigiana was a popular preacher. His work establishing the first Dominican community on the island of S. Secundo also attracted the support and funding of the authorities, and noblemen joined the ranks of his novices.

It is worth considering how widespread was sympathy for Savonarola among Venetian patricians and populace, and whether there was an acceptance that the political threat of the *piagnoni* was irrelevant in Venice. The works of Savonarola appear to have found a ready audience in the city. Eighty-eight separate Venetian editions of the Dominican's works were printed between 1500 and ca.1550, as well as

[156] See below, Appendix 1.

the *Processo di Fra Girolamo Savonarola.*[157] Girolamo Aleandro seems to have been concerned with the doctrines or practices of the *piagnoni* in Venice in November, 1533. In a letter to Pietro Carnesecchi in Rome he described the difficulties surrounding the election of the prioress of the monastery of Corpus Christi. A challenge to Aleandro's choice of prioress was accompanied by the introduction of 'novità...di mala sorte'. Threatening the involvement of the secular arm to combat this potential scandal and affront to apostolic authority, Aleandro noted that he would advise the monastery's confessors that they should not act in Venice 'in the same way that the friars of S. Marco, Florence have often behaved'. Therefore this fire, which is of a worse nature than they believe, must be extinguished.[158] It is not clear from this letter whether Aleandro suspected that the novelties introduced by the prioress included the veneration of Savonarola and his prophecies, or the assumption of simple clothes rather than monastic garb which characterized the behaviour of the Florentine *piagnoni*. In the same way that he feared the spread of Lutheranism as a result of reading the scriptures in Italian, Aleandro's criticism may simply have been based on groundless fears. It has been suggested that Jacopo Nardi's reform of the Florentine confraternity in 1556 was based on *piagnone* spirituality. These statutes are certainly rather different from analogous regulations in Venetian *scuole* at the time.[159]

In 1533 Aleandro had identified 'un certo fiorentin' and 'alcuni toschani' who were involved with heretical discussions around the Rialto.[160] In its printshops on the Rialto[161], or in the relative academic freedom of Padua, harried Anabaptists, Nicodemites, Calvinists, Evangelicals, and Lutherans would certainly find solace and support in the same way that the Florentine exiles had. Just as Contarini made Christian virtue essential to political responsibility in his *De magistratibus*, and Antonio Brucioli associated religion with good government, so there seem to have been 'deep affinities' between republican and evangelical ideas in their opposition to

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[157] As listed by Lucia Giovannozzi, *Contributo alla bibliografia delle opere del Savonarola* (Florence, 1953).

[158] 'come hanno fatto più di una volta in Firenze li frati di S. Marco'. Franco Gaeta (ed.) *Nunziature di Venezia*. (Rome, 1958) I, no.47. On Aleandro, see *DBI* 2: 128-35.

[159] Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: the Savonarolan movement in Florence, 1494-1545* (Oxford, 1994) makes this suggestion. Dr Richard Mackenney has kindly read the statutes and agrees that they differ from the usual form and content of analogous Venetian statutes.

[160] *Idem*, 'Documenti da Codici Vaticani per la Storia della Riforma in Venezia', *Annuario dell' Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età moderna e Contemporanea* VII (1955) 28, 37.

[161] In 1542 Jacopo Nardi helped Paolo Manuzio put together a letter anthology. Francesco Sansovino (son of Jacopo) was involved in editing and publishing from 1542. Of course, Antonio Brucioli was a translator and editor from 1529. In 1541 he set up his own press with his brother. Remigio Nannini and Lodovico Dolce were two other Florentine editors active in Venice in the 1550's. The Florentine firm of the Giunti transferred their press to Venice during 1533-37. Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: the editor and the vernacular text, 1470-1600.* (Cambridge, 1994) 108, 110, 98-101, 125, 127.

an exaggerated hierarchy, in a concern for the poor, and in the association of personal and civic virtue.[162]

[162] John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian heretics in a Renaissance city* (Berkeley, 1993) 229ff. stimulates this comparison. For Professor Martin, 1545-47 marked the peak of the reformers' hopes. *Ibid.* 44-8. See also Bouwsma (1968) 29-30, 41; and Aldo Stella, 'Utopie e velleità insurrezionali dei filoprotestanti italiani nel biennio 1545-1547', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXVII (1965) 133-83.

Conclusion

In 1543, Europe saw the publication of three books which mapped the extent of man's awareness of himself, and his mental and physical universe. Andreas Vesalius, a lecturer in surgery at Padua, published his *On the Fabric of the Human Body*, which set out in graphic and unprecedented detail the findings of his investigations into the structure of the human body. In another part of Europe, Nicholas Copernicus, who had studied anatomy at Padua, published his *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* which laid the basis for the demolition of the Aristotelian universe one hundred years later. A third alumnus of the University of Padua also published a book in Paris that year. Gasparo Contarini's book on the structure of the Venetian republic and its place in the divine and Aristotelian hierarchies - *On the Magistracies and Republic of Venice* - was simply but elegantly printed by a humanist French publisher.

All three of these works shared a belief in the harmony between the microcosm of man and the macrocosm of the universe. Although Copernicus displaced the earth from its static position, and Vesalius reduced man to a physicality comparable to the animals, the hierarchy which Contarini elaborated was maintained. The Copernican universe remained at the centre of the celestial spheres, and Vesalius retained the notion of Galenic humours affected by the cosmos. Contarini's comparison of the Venetian Republic to a human body subject to the humours, or with musical harmony (which ultimately emanated from the movement of the celestial spheres) formed a view of the universe which was confirmed by these authors. The educated classes of Europe bought his book in large numbers, and it remained in print for another sixty years. His work was in the mainstream of the Renaissance fascination for uncovering harmony and pattern in man, the world, and the universe. It revealed his yearning for an order in both Church and state which was lacking in a Europe increasingly divided by religious and political differences.

Martin Luther's *Open Letter to Leo X* (1521) constitutes an attack on Roman clerical corruption and vice which goes far beyond the language of other contemporary critics of the Church such as Gasparo Contarini and his friend, Vincenzo Querini. Both men combined a humanist education and an inquisitive temperament with the belief that the papacy (even under Pope Alexander VI) could lead the Church and indeed all of Christendom out of the 'Babylonish captivity' into which it had fallen since the papal schism. Humanists like them were closely tied to the ecclesiastical hierarchy by employment, and by a conception of the divine hierarchy which ensured the preeminence of the papacy. This did not mean that Querini and Contarini could not

apply their talents to solving questions which both troubled the Church and their own spirituality. Paradoxically, just as the northern Reformation's abolition of sacramental control of the laity encouraged the multiplication of individualistic pietist sects, as well as a strong degree of social control through a Church hierarchy, so Querini and Contarini maintained a highly personal relationship with God at the same time as they developed their conception of the 'contemplative in action' in, respectively, the monastic and secular worlds.

The close friendship between Vincenzo Querini and Gasparo Contarini which existed between 1509 and 1514, despite their separation during most of that period, is best understood in relation to the Venetians' love of God and their own sense of God's love. Although this love was expressed in fairly conventional terms in their letters and other writings, nevertheless it animated their intellects, and inspired passion in both men. Querini and his friends who were connected with the poet Pietro Bembo and the Aldine circle of humanists, expressed their feelings about their relationship with Christ with the amorous lyricism of Petrarch. They also responded to the ideal of ascetic duty described by writers such as St Jerome and St Augustine. Contarini's spirituality was expressed in a less lyrical or literary way, but with no less passion; and it derived from a strong sense of the physicality of Christ's wounds and blood which represented His sacrifice, and offered a way of redemption for sinful men.

Their language of love for one another in their letters rivalled, inspired, and was inspired by their expressions of a sense of, or desire for, reciprocal love for Christ. The lives of Christ and the apostles provided a guide to the means of combining contemplation with action, and of reconciling man's continuing sinfulness with the hope of eternal beatitude in Heaven. Both Querini and Contarini believed that this reconciliation could take place in the lay and the monastic worlds, although their friend Tommaso Giustiniani did not. Like him, Querini ultimately chose a monastic way of life. A sense of the hopelessness of meriting salvation while living in the midst of the city which all of these men felt was given added piquancy by the fact that the city was Venice, and because the men filled with hopelessness were Venetian patricians drawn from families of the first order of wealth and political influence.

The political upheavals which occurred in Italy after 1494 undoubtedly marked a generation of Italians. The devastating events which affected Venice directly were recorded in the letters of Venetians such as Bembo and Querini, although often in a curiously muted way. In fact, Querini and Giustiniani had decided to undertake the monastic life by 1500, well before Venice had lost its mainland possessions and shortly before the impact of the Portuguese navigation to India around the Cape of Africa had

been felt. The struggle to reconcile the active and contemplative lives must therefore be understood not simply as the result of individual choices made in a particular historical context but also in the light of the friendship between Querini and Contarini, their personalities and careers.

The role of these factors is evident in the content of the *Libellus ad Leonem X* (1513) which has hitherto been unfairly neglected and certainly not properly viewed in the light of Querini's secular actions or piety. Traces of Querini's missions to Germany, the Low Countries, and Spain can be found throughout the work explicitly and implicitly where he records his good judgement of German priestly conduct, or approval of Iberian policies towards the Jews and 'New Christians'. The hermits' injunctions against the Jews would not have been out of place in Venice, and their call for a crusade against the Ottoman Turks and other Muslims was certainly a commonplace of European rhetoric by 1513, but the example of the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs directly inspired the hermits and shaped these proposals. Their vision of a renewed Christendom not only encompassed Europe and the re-conquered Muslim lands but also the new Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the west and the east. By mastering the native languages of the 'pagans' the hermits were themselves prepared to preach the Word and distribute it in translation to these people.

The hermits' confidence and sincerity of belief were not disturbed by the realities of Pope Leo X's court, and indeed at this time in Rome and Florence the hermits found allies whose own proposals were similar and who found their justification in prophecy, scripture, and humanist study. The pope's brother, Giuliano de' Medici, serves as an interesting example with which to question assumptions about Leonine Rome, and Medicean Florence. He suffered expulsion from his native city in 1494, and returned after eighteen years in the guise of a humble citizen. Although he loved horse-riding and the pomp of Rome, he also spent time at Camaldoli in the company of the ascetic Giustiniani. He was curious about religious, and possibly prophetic, matters and the hermits envisaged his leadership of a crusade, or a prolonged sojourn in a hermitage. Perhaps a biography of Leo X would reveal similar apparent contradictions - after all, Leo was prepared to make a hermit a cardinal. Or perhaps it should be recalled that Giuliano was the original dedicatee of Machiavelli's *Il principe*, and that Querini's elevation would have been expedient for Leo's foreign policy in 1514.

The Venetians' contact with and sympathy for Florentines, especially the *piagnoni*, is evident in the many common characteristics of this work and the proposals or writings of others at the Fifth Lateran Council where the work was presented. The *Libellus ad Leonem X* shares their hortatory style and barely concealed apocalyptic tone. Many of

the speakers at the council adopted a quasi-prophetic stance, none more famously than Egidio of Viterbo who declared that the discovery of new lands was a sign of the unfolding of God's providential purpose which would include the reform of the Church and the renewal of Christian morality. Egidio's testimony and the documents offered by other speakers at the council who shared a prophetic, often *piagnone*, approach establish more firmly the outlines of Roman Catholicism in the decade before the appearance of Luther.

Both Querini and Contarini felt that they were unable to merit salvation, living as they did in the midst of secular temptations. However, both undertook successful political careers. Querini's decision to become a cenobite and then a hermit in the bitter climes at Camaldoli, and Contarini's to remain in the world at Venice have obscured their fundamental agreement that both ways of life - active and contemplative - could provide a means of salvation according to one's personal needs or inclination. The decisions have also obscured the fact that Querini remained active in secular politics after his withdrawal in 1511. His attempt to reform the Camaldolese Order, as well as his friendship with the worldly but pious Giuliano de' Medici helped bring him to Rome in 1514 where he negotiated with Pope Leo X on behalf of the Venetian government. His mission was certainly not a happy one, and it may have confirmed him in his belief that his secular ambitions were bound to cause him pain. However, the hermit acccepted very quickly that God (through Leo X) intended him for the cardinalate, and he accepted that he would spend at least half his time in Rome if elected. His death robbed Venice of a cardinal, and Contarini of the chance to join his friend.

Contarini also came to the cardinalate and, if Pope Paul III had died as quickly as had been expected on his election, he might also have been elected to the papacy. His life and the nature of the pre-Tridentine Church have often been interpreted in the light of events subsequent to his elevation in 1535. However, as Professor Gleason and others point out, there is a fundamental continuity in his thought between 1516 and 1535. There are also striking similarities between a work such as *De officio episcopi* (1516) and the *Libellus ad Leonem X*. Moreover, a thorough textual analysis for the first time reveals its debt to St Thomas Aquinas and notions of action and contemplation united in the figure of the bishop. His work on the good bishop and man perfectly expresses the resolution of the debate he had in his letters to Querini. The active life could be as worthy or even more worthy than the contemplative life. The 'contemplative in action' was fully embodied in Contarini's ideal bishop and he himself may have attempted to live up to that ideal.

The 'contemplative in action' could in some measure embody both spiritual and secular concerns while performing strictly secular duties. In the same way that Querini had successfully reconciled these different spheres during his ambassadorial duties a decade or so previously, so Contarini observed different religions and forms of spirituality during his more or less continuous embassies for the Venetian Republic. He was at once attracted by the possibilities of new worlds at home and abroad and showed the same inquisitive interest in Martin Luther as he did for the Aztecs and their beliefs. His personal experience of the Spanish Inquisition provoked rather negative comments on its severity, and on the passionate nature of Spanish piety. His personal beliefs were secure after 1514 and this security was expressed in his belief in a Thomist-Aristotelian divine hierarchy and of the place of man and Venice in that hierarchy.

Contarini's work on Venice was written during his embassy to Spain and circulated in manuscript during the 1530's. It has often been viewed as a reformulation and sublime expression of the myth of Venetian political stability and social unity. However, his belief in Venetian stability was tempered by his awareness of the possibility of decline in nature and in states. While both these positive and negative aspects of the work have been directly linked to the shock of Venetian defeat in 1509 nevertheless they must also be related to Contarini's Aristotelian and Thomist view of nature and ecclesiology, and to his experience of the lands of Spain and the empire, and of Florence. In a similar way to the *De officio episcopi*, the *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* can only be viewed as an attempt to place man as an active and contemplative creature within the divine hierarchy. It is interesting to note that Contarini could reproduce Aristotelian and Thomist arguments fairly slavishly as well as depart from their main contentions in a way which allowed him to insert Venetian characteristics into the work. The predominant urge to political unity within Venice and the universe also had an undercurrent of fear of natural and manmade decline and discord. He need not have looked any further than Florence to see the dangers of internal dissension, and the loss of the external liberty which Venice held dear.

Like many other Venetians, Contarini believed that Florentine liberty was strategically and politically important. His views and the views of fellow-patricians demonstrated how Florence and Venice were associated as republics in the defence of liberty at least from the end of the fifteenth century. This association implicitly and explicitly contrasted Venetian republican harmony and stability with Florentine factiousness. Although Contarini did not mention Florence in the *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*, his comments on it elsewhere as well as those of his friends demonstrate its importance in pooitical thought in Venice and Padua. The development of republican ideas in the Veneto was a Florentine as well as Venetian concern and it is no longer easy

to isolate the 'political realism' of Machiavelli from the supposed 'utopianism' of Contarini. It could be argued that Niccolò Machiavelli's use of classical Rome or Athens borders on the utopian. The two men may not have known each other's works directly, but there is a common ground of assumptions about the nature of republics, arms, and constitutions in their works and the works of friends of Machiavelli such as Donato Giannotti and friends of Contarini such as Giovanni Battista Egnazio.

This relationship between political ideas becomes easier to understand given the nature of Italian intellectual life during the first thirty years of the sixteenth century. The history of intellectuals during this period is inseparable from intellectual history. The Venetian and Paduan élites were bound closely by their common membership of the closed patrician caste. In many cases these bonds were strengthened by marriage and by the collegiality engendered by common attendance at the University of Padua. However, this close-knit network was by no means stifling or debilitating and it could provide a secure base for literary, philosophical, and spiritual endeavours which absorbed Roman and Florentine, not to speak of Northern European, elements. Venetian patricians regarded their Florentine counterparts with a mixture of friendliness and patronage. Some of these links were quite longstanding and genuinely warm with obvious intellectual effects, not least of which was Pietro Bembo's adoption of the Tuscan vernacular as a literary language.

Florentines who came to Venice often expressed their admiration for its political system, and the city's reputation for providing liberty and a place of refuge which was built up among Florentines during the 1520's helped attract a number of Florentine exiles to the city in the years after 1527. These Florentines were sometimes noble and welcomed by the state, while others were less respectable and inclined to violence. However, the city seems to have happily accommodated a pornographer such as Pietro Aretino as well as Lorenzino de' Medici who had assassinated Alessandro de' Medici, leader of Florence. Their defence of Filippo Strozzi, a leader of the exiles, seems to have been inspired by a genuine wish to protect Venice's reputation in these matters. However, there may not have been a great opportunity for successful integration for Florentines who settled permanently in the city. Jacopo Nardi's poverty and difficulties at once illustrate the strength of the closed patriciate and the weakness of the community of excluded. Unfortunately for men such as Donato Giannotti (who was spied upon by fellow-Florentine Antonio Brucioli), Nardi (a concern for Duke Cosimo I de' Medici into the 1540's), and Lorenzino de' Medici (assassinated in Venice in 1547 by Duke Cosimo's men) Venetian tolerance was indiscriminately extended and often fell short of outright protection.

The worlds of Vincenzo Querini and Gasparo Contarini included hermits and noblemen, encompassed the courts of Spain and Burgundy and the Republic of Venice, and drew strength from the humanism of Aldus Manutius and his circle as well as the patristic and scriptural reverence of Tommaso Giustiniani and his friends. None of these worlds was incompatible, although there may sometimes have been conflict between them which added to the strength of their ultimate fusion or adaptation. Querini's studies took him from the *Wunderkind* display of peripatetic knowledge before Alexander VI to his appearance before Leo X with urgent reform and crusade proposals. In many ways, the lives of Querini and Contarini reveal the strengths and weaknesses of Renaissance Italy. Faced with the conflict between his public duty and his spiritual needs, Querini found a means to begin to put his ideals into practice. He was supported by the lingering European hegemony of Italian humanist culture. Aldus Manutius and Marcus Musurus could still call on Plato to advise Leo that classical studies and Christian proselytizing could go hand in hand. In Venice, Florence, and Rome, a wide variety of beliefs could be maintained, and a large degree of toleration extended to exiles and *piagnoni*. Niccolò Machiavelli's work belongs to this world as much as Contarini's does.

Contarini's attempt to realize his ideals should not be dismissed as utopian dreaming. His work (and that of his friends) found fruit in many of the proposals of the Counter-Reformation era. Querini and Contarini would have agreed with much of what was decided at the Council of Trent, and they shared many fundamental beliefs with the Jesuits. However, the political and spiritual energy which had underpinned their beliefs had passed out of Italy by then, although Venice continued to enjoy its independence. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century Rome had provided a focus for Christian humanist hopes of reform and renewal in the Church and Christendom. After 1527, these hopes were dashed, and only Venice seemed to provide a model or microcosm of the correct ordering of the universe in the apparent harmony of its secular and ecclesiastical spheres.

Appendix 1
A Prosopography of Florentines in Venice ca. 1433-1556[1]

Adriani, Giovanni Battista (1511-79) Son of Marcello Virgilio Adriani, Donato Giannotti's (*q.v.*) master in Greek and Latin. He defended Florence against the imperial troops in 1529-30 before fleeing to Padua with others. He continued his studies in philosophy and became acquainted with Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*), Pietro Bembo, Marcantonio Flaminio, and Gasparo Contarini among others. He returned to Florence in 1540 and wrote a history which discusses F. Strozzi (*q.v.*), S. Aldobrandini (*q.v.*), Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*), and the *fuorusciti* in 1537 (Adriani [1587] 24, 35, 41, 46, 52; Von Albertini [1970] 346-50; *DBI* I, 308-09).

Alamanni, Luigi (1495-1556) A student of Francesco da Diacceto, a participant at the *Orti Oricellari* discussions, and a friend of Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*). Exiled in 1522, he was sheltered in Venice by Carlo Cappello before going to France. He was back in Florence in 1527, and in Genoa in October, 1527 before travelling to Spain. He was in France from 1530-39 (Cosenza [1962-7] V, 28). He returned to Venice as French ambassador in 1541 (Hauvette [1903]).

degli Albizzi, Anton Francesco (1486-1537) Pro-Medicean in 1512, A.F.A was less friendly towards the Medici by 1526 when he was alleged to have favoured a Venetian type constitution (von Albertini [1970] 84 n.1). 1527-30: A.F.A held government posts. 1530: in exile in Rome. 1535: *fuorusciti* legate to Charles V in Naples. After Montemurlo he was executed (*DBI* 2: 18-20).

Aldobrandini, Silvestro (1499-1558) Studied at Pisa; *laureandosi* 25/5/21, followed by teaching there. He probably met Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*) there. In 1527 he assaulted the palace of Cardinal Passerini. He supported the *ottimati* and favoured Niccolò Capponi over the popular candidate in 1528. In 1529 he composed satirical verses against Clement VII and Baccio Valori. 1530: imprisoned. Clement VII acceded to Ormanozzo Deti's appeal for mercy on behalf of S.A. It seems that he had promised to collaborate with the new regime (Polizzotto [1994] 393 n.25). After his release he went to Venice and was charged there with the reform of the republic's laws. 1533: condemnation revoked, he went to Rome and met other exiles. 1535: he was one of the procurators who sent appeals to, and then addressed Charles V at Naples. All his goods were seized. 1536: he went to Bologna where he held several legal posts. 1537-45: he served the d'Este. After the assassination of Alessandro de'Medici in January, 1537, the assassin, Lorenzino de'Medici, fled to S.A. at Bologna. Also implicated were Bartolomeo Cavalcanti (*q.v.*), Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*), and Giovan Battista Busini (*q.v.*). However, in January, 1549, S.A. successfully sought mercy from Cosimo II de'Medici. 1548-58: career at Rome and he entered into indirect relations with the French. His son Ippolito became Clement VIII. His works include a commentary of Justinian published in Venice in 1538 (Von Albertini [1970] 141-43, 204-06; *DBI* 2: 112-4).

Ardinghelli, Niccolò di Pietro (1503-47) Arrived at Pisa in 1519 with Medici connections. There he met Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*) and Silvestro Aldobrandini (*q.v.*). Pietro Bembo wrote from Padua on 10/10/24 to Pietro Ardinghelli that he would open his house to N.A. to use it as if it was his own 'per l'antico amore e fraterna benivolenza

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[1] I have not attempted to reconstruct the complete biographies of the seventy Florentines listed here although I have attempted to give dates of birth and death where known. In this study I am only concerned with their lives and work insofar as it reveals the nature of Florentine contact with, and interest in, Venice.

nostra' (*Lettere* II, no.496; see also no.497). Late in 1524 he went to Padua with an introduction to Pietro Bembo and a recommendation from the *signoria* of Florence to the Doge. Giovanni Borgherini (*q.v.*) was a friend who joined him at Padua in the latter half of 1525. Bembo saw a letter to S.A. from his father on 17/8/25, and he noted that N.A. 'studia qui [i.e. at Padua]' (*Lettere* II, no.580). S.A. was still in Padua on 28/1/26 (*Lettere* II, no.640). His literary interests seem to have been most important in his friendship with Donato Giannotti. See Bembo's letter of 15/7/35 (*Lettere* III, no. 1701). From 1536 he was secretary to Paul III (*DBI* 4: 30-4).

di Barduccio di Chericino Barducci, Cherico (15/7/1519-8/2/1590) In 1556 he was a member of the Florentine confraternity in Venice and as a *consigliere* he assisted Iacopo Nardi (*q.v.*) with his reform of the confraternity's statutes (Sagredo [1854]).

del Bene, Albertaccio A Florentine friend of Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*) at Padua in 1540-41.

del Bene, Filippo As a Florentine in Venice in 1529 he refused to help Florence under siege. See also Luigi Gherardi, Lodovico de'Nobili, and Tommaso di Giunta. (Varchi [1857-8] II, 278).

Benivieni, Pagolo His letter from Venice to Giovanni (Soderini?) of 23/5/1527 celebrates the successful revolt of 16/5 in Florence, and reports that Niccolò Capponi, the new *gonfaloniere*: '...ha scritto [a] Donato [Giannotti] che gli mandi resunto della forma di questa repubblica [di Venezia], et domani non attenderà altro per mandargliene quanto prima', and 'Il Giannotti non aspetta altro se non che'l segretario torni dall'Imbasciadore et partirà subito...et dal Gonfaloniere è sollecitato più che mai' (Starn [1968] 21; BNF,VIII,1487,no.149). P.B. is the author of a letter in Gentile (1906) 142-44, according to Stephens (1983) 210-11, 211 n.1.

Borgherini, Giovanni (1496-?) He invited Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*) to compose a work during his stay in the Veneto. He most probably was a student of Giannotti's at Pisa, and he was later an interlocutor in Giannotti's *Libro de la republica de'Vinitiani* (composed ca.1526-27, 1533; published 1540). By April, 1528 he was back in Florence (*Lettere* II, no.868). He was Niccolò Capponi's son-in-law and wrote to Capponi to recommend Giannotti as secretary of the *Dieci di Libertà e Pace*. On 15/12/28 Pietro Bembo wrote from Padua to P. F. Borgherini (G.B.'s brother) in Florence: 'Delle novelle di qua non scrivo, perciò che io so che'l nostro M. Leonico ne tiene M. Giovanni ben conto' (*Lettere* II, no.920). Bembo wrote to G.B. himself in Florence on 15/4/29 saying : 'Sono stato salutato più volte dal nostro padre M. Leonico per nome di voi,...' He adds: 'Io vi diedi, quando eravate qui, una *Storietta Viniziana*, scritta per M. Pietro Marcello, insieme con quella di M. Leonardo Giustiniano. Ma questa voi mi rendeste, quell'altra portaste con voi partendovi. La quale bisognandomi a questi dì, e facendone io cercare in Vinegia, ancora che quella che aveste da me fosse in istampa, pure non ne ho potuto avere alcuna, ché non se ne trovan più' (*Lettere* III, no.947). In a letter of 26/4/29 to fellow-poet Bernardo Cappello in Venice, Pietro Bembo requested that his letter be forwarded to Carlo Cappello in Florence. Carlo Cappello was instructed to acquire Bembo's 'libretto' from 'M. Gio. Borgherini' and send it to Bernardo Cappello (*Lettere* III, no.950). In August, 1529 he was part of a Florentine delegation sent to receive Cardinal Farnese. He then went to Venice where he refused financial aid for Florence during the siege (Varchi [1857-8] II, 34, 278). Although he and Pierfrancesco Borgherini wrote to the Medici on 22/9/1530 affirming that: 'Iddio sa il bono animo nostra di verso il presente Stato, il quale piaccia al signore preservare et augmentare', he was not among those erstwhile republicans reabsorbed into the Medici system (ASF. Balie, 53, f.218; Starn [1968] 106, n.1). He spent some time in Rome before 1526 (Giannotti [1591] 188).

Borgherini, Pierfrancesco See Borgherini, Giovanni.

Brucioli, Alessandro Printer in Venice in Campo Ss. Filippo e Giacomo with Giovanni (or Alberto) Centani and his brother Francesco (*q.v.*) between 1540-54. Among the works printed was Antonio Brucioli's (*q.v.*) translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (Spini [1940] 92).

Brucioli, Antonio (1498?-1566) He participated in the discussions of the *Orti Oricellari*, and was a student of Francesco da Diacceto. Implicated in the 1522 plot which aimed at, among other things, setting up a Venetian-style government in Florence, he fled to Venice where Carlo Cappello possibly accommodated him. 1522-26: A.B. in exile at Lyons. 1527-29: in Florence. 1529-66: in Venice. A.B. claimed a long personal acquaintance with Cosimo I de'Medici (Spini [1940] 79), and he appears to have spied on Florentine exiles in Venice for the Duke. In 1534 he published an edition of the Psalms in Italian. In ca.1537 the French orators in Venice encouraged the activities of these exiles, principally Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*), Bartolomeo Valori, and Anton Francesco degli Albizzi (*q.v.*). A.B. was in contact with other exiles in Venice such as Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*) and Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*). At this time Filippo Strozzi wrote to his agent at Lyons: 'Avertite messer Luigi Alamanni [*q.v.*] che il suo Brucioli è spia dello stato Cosmico et prima fu dello Alexandrino. Però advertisca a quello gli scrive, chè tutto va in Fiorenza volando. Et io non dico cosa che con mano tocca prima non habbia: desidero bene non essere allegato per non havere l'odio suo, anchora che poco nuocer mi possi' (Spini [1940] 81, n.18). A.B. certainly later wrote to Cosimo of services rendered in 'dangerous times'. The correspondence of Cosimo's spy in Venice, describing the activities of the exiles, particularly Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*), exists in ASF, *lettere decifrate da un amico in Venezia* Mediceo 3093; Mediceo, 3093 ins.; Mediceo 3, 356-57, 361, 533. *Loc cit.* Starn (1968) 46, n.4. Curiously for this thesis, in 1547 A.B. dedicated a translation of Aristotle's *Politics* to Piero Strozzi (*q.v.*), a strong opponent of Medicean rule (Spini [1940]; Starn [1968]; *DBI* 14: 480-5).

Brucioli, Francesco Printer in Campo Ss Filippo e Giacomo with Giovanni (or Alberto Centani) and Alessandro Brucioli (*q.v.*) 1540-44 (Spini [1940] 92).

Buonarroti, Michelangelo (1475-1564) Fled Florence on 21/9/29 whilst in charge of the fortifications at San Miniato. He intended to go to France with Battista della Palla but remained in Venice with Antonio Mini and his friend Piloto (Vasari [1855] XII, 209) until the beginning of November. (He was in Ferrara by 9/11/29). He retired to the Giudecca whilst in Venice, but two prominent noblemen were sent by the Republic to offer him aid (Varchi [1857-8] II,133). Doge Gritti gave him commission to design a bridge for the Rialto (Vasari [1855] XII,211), and the French ambassador in Venice wrote several letters in October telling the French king that M.B. might be easily persuaded to join the court. His safeconduct, providing for his return within a month, was signed by the Florentine signory on 20/10/29, and he avoided being declared an outlaw and his friends secured his goods (Symonds [1893] I, 416-32).

Buondelmonti, Zanobi Exiled with Luigi Alammani (*q.v.*) and Antonio Brucioli (*q.v.*) in 1522. A participant at the *Orti Oricellari* (Guasti [1859]). The 'Advisi di Siena, fino 28 Aprile 1527, hore 17' mention: 'Il Bondelmonte è in campo del Duca, et stava molto allegro, et qui se dice pubblico che'l Vicerè ha intendimento nella citta di Fiorenza, et favorisse assai questi fiorentini che sono in campo' (Sanudo XLV, col.26).

Busini, Giovan Battista (22/2/1501-1574) He sided with the *popolo* on its more extreme wing during 1527-30. He was imprisoned at Benevento from November, 1530 before joining Zanobi Bartolini in Ferrara. In 1532 he tried to get the *fuorusciti* in Venice, Ferrara, Modena, and Pesaro to send an embassy to Charles V in Mantua. In 1534 Alessandro de'Medici and Alfonso d'Este agreed to expel the *fuorusciti* from Ferrara, and most of them went to Venice. G.B. spoke for them to Alfonso d'Este (his speech is printed in Varchi [1857-8] II, 58-9). He was sent to Milan. He then joined the exiles at Rome where he knew Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*), Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*), Silvestro Aldobrandini (*q.v.*), Paolantonio Soderini (*q.v.*), Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*), Cardinals

Salviati and Ridolfi, and Galeotto Giugni. 1537: G.B. travelling between Ferrara and Venice. 1539: in Ferrara and travelling between Rome and Padua. 1547: pardoned by Cosimo de'Medici. He helped Varchi with his history of Florence with documents of his own and those of friends such as Aldobrandini. 1552-9: in Venice and Ferrara in economic difficulty and relying upon teaching for a living. He wrote a biography of Varchi (*DBI* 15: 534-7; Busini [1860]).

Carducci, Baldassarre (1456-1530) A government member during 1511-12, he went into exile on the restoration of the Medici. He resumed his teaching of law and was introduced to academic circles in Padua in 1518 by Pietro Delfin, the Camaldolese vicar-general, and Gasparo Contarini. Contarini mentions him in a letter of 19/4/18 (Jedin [1959] 64). He kept up anti-Medicean propaganda in exile, and in 1526 he called Clement VII 'bastardaccio'. With Venice's co-operation (they were in alliance with Florence and the papacy under the League of Cognac) B.C. was to be imprisoned at the same time as 'Ludovicus de Nobilibus' (*q.v.*) (ASV Cons. X secr. Reg.1 ff.107v-108r,14/2/1527). However, he was by Alessandro Pazzi's (*q.v.*) side on 16/2/27 when the ambassador arrived in Venice (Sanudo XLIV, coll.90-91). B.C. was described shortly afterwards as 'homo di gran reputazion di la parte contraria a Medici che regna al presente, el qual par feva mal officio per mutar quel Stato etc. Quel Lodovico di Nobeli fiorentino non fu preso perchè tolse suso. Hor fo butà il Collegio per collegiarlo' (Sanudo XLIV, coll.168-69: Marco Foscari's letter of 20/2/27 read and reported [?] on 27/2/27). Foscari further reported that B.C. had been in contact with Florence's enemies who wished to come into Tuscany (Sanudo XLIV, col.170: Letter of 20/2/27 read on 27/2/27). On 4/3/27 Pazzi came into the *collegio* to discuss B.C.'s case with the heads of the Ten (Sanudo XLIV, col.200). However, de Nobilis was not imprisoned, and Alessandro Pazzi (*q.v.*) helped release B.C. in May 1527. On 13/5/27 the Ten in *collegio* decided that B.C., who was ill, giving security of 5000 ducats not to leave Venice or his house, should be freed from imprisonment (Sanudo XLV, col.89). He arrived in Florence in June,1527, joining the *arrabbiati*, who were opposed to any compromise with the Medici. He was nominated for the post of *gonfalonier* under the republican regime (Sanudo XLV, coll.98,170). June, 1528: a rallying point for popular democratic forces, he was proposed as orator to Venice, and refused. October, 1528: designated orator to France. He died on this mission, disillusioned with the French diplomatic betrayal of Florence (*DBI* 20: 2-6; Sanudo XLVIII, col.115).

Castellesi, Adriano (1461-1521) Following the accusation of involvement in the 1517 plot against Leo X, he fled to Venice where he was formally deprived of his red hat and benefices on 5/7/1518. He had already fled to Venetian territory 1507-12. He arrived in Venice on 6/7/17 where he presented himself to the Doge and Ten and received a safeconduct. He installed himself in the household of Giacomo Pesaro (Bishop of Paphos). His plans to go to England or Rome were foiled by Wolsey and Leo, and he lived in Venice 'secretissimo...si dicea in caxa dil vescovo di Baffo [Paphos] Pexaro a San Polo in cha' Bernardo sul Canal Grando,ma niun lo visitava, studiava et componeva, havea uno frate fidatissimo con lui;...' (Sanudo, XXXII, coll.205-06). He was murdered by a servant on his way to the conclave of 1521 (*DBI* 21: 665-71). Allusion was made in a prophecy to A.C. as a future pope (Lowe [1994] 194. On the 1517 conspiracy see *ibid.* 193-8; see also D'Amico (1983) 17-19 on A.C.'s humanism).

Cavalcanti, Bartolomeo (1503-62) A friend of Piero Vettori, Niccolò Ardinghelli (*q.v.*), Giovanni della Casa, and Luigi Alamanni (*q.v.*) who all followed the lessons of Marcello Virgilio Adriani (*q.v.*), and possibly Francesco da Diacceto. He met Machiavelli at the *Orti Oricellari* and revered his writing and thought. He was interested in literature, but in 1527 he received his first diplomatic post. He addressed the militia (von Albertini [1970] 130, & n.4) In 1529 he was sent to France to seek Francis I's aid for Florence. He then went to Rome. After 1532 he was on the fringes of power at Florence, and by 1537 he was calling on Francis I to help the exiles remove Cosimo de'Medici from power. October,1537: he entered the service of Ercole II d'Este at

Ferrara. In 1542 he accompanied Cardinal Ippolito to Venice to plead for the necessity of a league between Venice, France, and the pope. (His *Essortatione alla Signoria di Venetia a nome del re di Francia per la confederatione contra l'imperatore* is in BNF, II, IV, 452; II, II, 380; and II, IV, 39: *loc. cit.* von Albertini [1970] 169 n.1). Literary studies mainly occupied him at Ferrara, and he corresponded with Paolo Manuzio and Lazzaro Buonamico among other Venetians. He principally worked on an Italian translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric.* 1548: in Paul III's service at Rome. 1552: he followed Cardinal d'Este to Siena and after the fall of the city B.C. was declared a rebel by Cosimo. He passed into the service of the Farnese but ended up in Padua where he composed *Trattati overo discorsi sopra gli ottimi reggimenti delle repubbliche antiche e moderne* (Venice, 1571). An unpublished dialogue between two Florentines at Ferrara (ca.1538-42) places B.C. among the most authoritative of the Florentine exiles. He expresses great hopes for the league between France, Venice, and the Turks. (Simoncelli [1985]; von Albertini [1970] 166-78; *DBI* 22: 611-7; Cavalcanti [1967]).

Cellini, Benvenuto (1500-71) Pietro Bembo invited B.C. to Padua for one month on 15/7/35 (*Lettere* III, nos. 1701, 1702). On a visit to Venice in 1534 or 1535 B.C. passed through Ferrara where he described the Florentine exiles who were there waiting for news of their friends and relatives from the Venetian courier from Florence. He describes the insulting behaviour of Piero and Niccolò Benintendi, and Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*) who shouted: 'They and their Duke [Alessandro de' Medici] can kiss my arse!' After a scuffle, B.C. moved to Venice. There he endured dinner with an arrogant rival, Jacopo Sansovino. Back in Rome in January 1537, he heard of Duke Alessandro's murder by Lorenzino de' Medici (*q.v.*) and met Francesco Soderini (*q.v.*) who crowed: 'This is the reverse of that wicked tyrant's medal that your Lorenzo de' Medici promised you...You wanted to make the dukes immortal - we want no more dukes!' (Cellini [1956] 139-43, 164-5).

Dovizi (da Bibbiena), Piero (ca.1456-1514) Secretary to Lorenzo de'Medici by 1483. He carried out diplomatic missions for the Medici. On 10/11/1494 he and his brother were condemned as rebels and sent into exile. P.D. remained in Venice for the rest of his life. He was in contact with those who wanted to put Piero de'Medici back into power (Bernardo Dovizi in Milan, conte Niccolò Rangoni in Bologna, Giuliano de'Medici in Ferrara, and Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici in Rome). He was secretary to various men, including the Captain-General of the Venetian republic. He also kept up a correspondence with Marsilio Ficino, and on 31/3/1495 wrote of his desire to return to his classical studies and he described the fortunes of Dante, Petrarch, and Ficino in Venice. Among his poetry was a work entitled *Contra Venetos bellum moventes*, dedicated to Niccolò Michelozzi. 16/3/13 he was named papal nuncio to Venice. In April 1513 he was named Florentine ambassador to Venice (and he presented his credentials on 6/5/13). At this time he wrote to the *Dieci di balìa* and Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de'Medici. He died on 8/1/1514 and his funeral was attended by many ambassadors as well as Venetians and Florentines (*DBI* 41: 604-08).

da Foiano, Fra Benedetto Pro-Medicean, but forced into exile in 1520 after berating his convent of Sa Maria Novella for 'tiepidità' in 'characteristically Savonarolan language' (Polizzotto [1994] 331). He was recalled to Florence by the first *Dieci di Libertà* to take office after the Medici's fall, and therefore his anti-Medicean stance was well-known (Varchi [1857-8] I, 433). As Sanudo notes on 15/6/27: 'In questa matina, in la chiesia del hospedal de Incurabili fo predicato per il predicator di questa quadragesima fra Beneto da Foiano de l'ordine dei frati Predicatori di nation fiorentina,qual fui invitato et vi andai. Era molti patricii da conto. Predicoe 4 hore; disse una profetia di l'Apocalisse qual interpretò tutta questa ruina di Roma; disse gran mal del Papa, cardinali etc., et gran ben de l'Imperador, et straparlò molto, et disse cosse che'l merita esser expulso di qua' (Sanudo XLV, coll.321-22). He aroused resentment in his old convent and fell out with Antonio Brucioli (*q.v.*) (Polizzotto [1994]).

Gherardi, Luigi L.G. was one of the Florentine exiles in Venice in 1529 who refused to aid Florence under siege. See also Lodovico de'Nobili, Filippo del Bene, and Tommaso di Giunta (Varchi [1857-8] II, 278). An 'Alvise Girardi' was recorded in Venice on 5/9/29 (Sanudo LI, coll.473, 558; LII, col.75).

Giannotti, Donato (1492-1573) A student of Francesco da Diacceto. From his time at the *Orti Oricellari* he was close to Luigi Alamanni (*q.v.*), Giovanni Corsi and Francesco Nasi (*q.v.*)(friends of Gasparo Contarini), Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*), Antonio Brucioli (*q.v.*), and Lorenzo Strozzi (*q.v.*) among other later exiles and former members of the Sacred Academy of the Medici. He taught Greek to Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*). His first political work, *Libro de la reppublica de'Vinitiani* (ca.1526-27, 1533; published 1540) was composed in the Veneto during 1526 and dedicated to Nasi. His first real political experience came in 1527 as secretary to Alessandro Pazzi (*q.v.*), the Florentine ambassador to Venice. He was possibly acquainted with Gasparo Contarini because he was instrumental in getting from Contarini letters of recommendation for Florentine friends staying in Padua. A letter of 4/5/27 from Paolo Pazzi (*q.v.*) to Bernardo Segni (*q.v.*) records: 'Quanto alle lettere di favore commune a voi et al nostro Pagolantonio habbiam fatto M.Donato et io ogni diligenza per farvi servire, ed di già havevano tratto lettere di favore a M.Guaspare Conterini che si truova costì di M.Nicc.o Delfino et d'altri...' (Gentile [1906] 141). Randolph Starn stresses the post-1512 experience rather than the republican era of 1494-1512 as crucial to an understanding of D.G. He shared in the 'political intensity' of the 1520's and elaborated his republican Aristotelianism while sojourning in the Veneto, where he was: 'chiamato da Giovanni Borgherini [*q.v.*] a dare opera in compagnia sua alle buone lettere' (Giannotti [1591] 109). His work on Venice is slanted towards the specific concerns of aristocratic opposition in Florence. He did not admire every aspect of Venetian politics and he never mentioned the idea of mixed government. He was interested in Venice as an example of a well-functioning city-republic. In a letter of 1533 to the Venetian Marcantonio Michiel he wrote: 'Il libero "De Repubblica Veneta" voglio fornire ad ogni modo et non ho preso questa fatica per ambitione ma solamente per pubblica utilità et maxime de' Toscani à quali pare di godere una libera civiltà et a fatica non sanno quello che s'importi il nome. La diligentia che insino a qui ci ho usata è stata extrema et cosi farò per lo innanzi. Io non so per qual cagione avvenisse, quando ero costì, che non ve lo mostrai, havendolo letto tutto a m. Niccolò Dolfin (Dio habbia hauta l'anima sua) et racconcio in qualche parte. Ma quel che non è fatto si farà ad ogni modo, maxime perchè non sono per mandarla fuora a questi tempi'. D.G. goes on to ask for information on the Venetian constitution and the city's finances: 'Le notizie che mi avete date mi sono gratissime. Aspetto le altre che sono tre: Il numero de' cittadini et popolari, et huomini da portar arme, come si tragga per sorte, qual bancho et da che testa venga al cappello, et le entrate della città' (Ferrai [1891] 1580-81). Starn asserts that by July, 1527 D.G. was 'Capponi's man'. The work, or a summary of it, was used in the discussion of reform at the *Palazzo Vecchio* by the new republic. In exile after 1530, he wrote to Niccolò Guicciardini in January, 1531; 'Ex litteris videbis quantum clarissimi illi viri pro mea salute laborarint. Antonius etiam Surianus, Orator Venetus, nullum amicissimi coniunctissimique hominis officium praetermisit. Non semel enim summum Pontificem adiit atque ita pro me illi supplicavit, ut quatenus curae sibi mea salus esset facile iudicaretur' (Starn [1968] 72). In his letter to Venetian Marcantonio Michiel of 30/6/1533, D.G. expresses his affection and gratitude towards Marco Foscari (the Venetian orator in Florence, 1529-30) and Antonio Surian (Ferrai [1891] 1583), and he noted that he had lent Machiavelli's autograph copy of the *Istorie Fiorentine* to Foscari (Ferrai, [1891] 1582). D.G. is also the probable author of the *Scrittura di N. Secretario della Repubblica di Firenze*, drafted during 1527-8, and used by Foscari in his *relazione* (Corazzol [1992]). During 1530-34, D.G. curried favour with Clement VII. After his death, the *Della repubblica fiorentina* struck out at Alessandro de'Medici. March, 1536: he was 'liberated and absolved' (Starn [1968] 44). 1536-7: in Rome and Venice (by 21/3/1537) as an agent of an exile leader, probably Cardinal Giovanni Salviati. He wrote to Jacopo Nardi, a leader of the 'fuorusciti bassi' in Venice (July, 1537) and to Piero Salviati (*q.v.*), one of the 'fuorusciti grandi'. Closely associated with the Montemurlo rebels, he was in exile and

sent to Venice by Cardinal Salviati in March, 1538. The following June he was there putting the final touches to the *Libro de la republica de'Vinitiani*. He remained in Venice at least until the middle of May, 1539. Here he tried to mediate between aristocratic and popular strains of republicanism, and he admitted with Nardi in May, 1539, that aristocrats like Salviati were lukewarm republicans at best and did not intend: '...andar nelle cose di Firenze con quello animo [con] che andranno loro' (Starn [1968] 47). Therefore, he stood with Nardi for the republican cause but knew that his best hope for Florence and his livelihood was with the *Grandi*, and therefore he turned to Cardinal Ridolfi to provide both (Starn [1968]; Sanesi [1899]).

di Giunta, Lucantonio (1489-1538) Florentine publisher in Venice.

di Giunta, Tommaso (1494-1566) As a Florentine in Venice in 1529 he refused to aid Florence under siege. See also Luigi Gherardi, Lodovico de'Nobili, and Filippo del Bene (Varchi [1857-8] II, 278). He can probably be identified as a member of the publishing dynasty in Venice which published books under the Giunta imprint between 1489 and 1566. The British Library *Short-Title Catalogue* of Italian books records 'Tomaso Giunta' as publishing *Contra obtrectores* by Leonicenus Nicolaus (the Paduan scholar) in 1522. The firm was later involved in publishing the works of Bartolomeo Cavalcanti (*q.v.*) which involved them in some financial difficulty and led them to apppeal to the Florentine confraternity in Venice for reimbursement (Pieralli [1901] 142-3; 143 n.1). He married a Venetian, Lucietta di Michele Marino (Salza [1897] 224), and note his excuse of long-term residency in Venice in order to avoid Cosimo de'Medici's invitation to invest in Florentine debt. His will has been published (Brown [1891]; Pettas [1980]; Camerini [1962-3]).

Gualtierotti, Bartolommeo 12/3/1528, he succeeded Alessandro Pazzi (*q.v.*) as orator in Venice. Sanudo called him: '...homo vero da ben e docto...' (Sanudo LIV, col.33). His oration was made in Venice on 14/4/28 (Sanudo XLVII, coll.228-32). He left Venice for Florence on 15/10/1530 (Sanudo LIV, col.53; Pieralli [1901] 63, n.1; Sanudo XLVII-LIV *ad ind.*).

Guiducci, Antonio Gonfalonier of Justice, Francesco di Niccolò Carducci proposed 'Scrivendo Messer Bartolomeo Gualterotti da Venetia come Antonio Guiducci haveva usato certe parole sospette di qualche machinatione: quello fussi da fare...Tommaso Soderini giudicono sia da vedere se ci è machinatione alchuna et facendo ad proposito per scoprir e tener questa cosa occulta parria loro fussi bene che li Sli. Otto tenessino modi di intenderne il vero'. (ASF, *Consulte e Pratiche*, 71, 3/5/1529, ff.3v-4r. Transcription provided by Henry Knox). A homonym acted as secretary to Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo - Medici supporter and enemy of Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*) - in 1537 (Spini [1945] 66, 105).

Lenzi, Lorenzo A Florentine friend of Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*) at Padua in 1540-41. He was attracted to Padua by the university and Pietro Bembo's presence; he also became a friend of Bembo's secretary, Cola Bruno in 1541 (Cosenza [1962-7] III, 1962).

di Lunigiana, Fra Zaccaria Friar of San Marco, Florence. A *piagnone* from at least 1516, when he defended Savonarola in a *Defensio* (Polizzotto [1994] 295-98). He preached in Sa Maria del Fiore during 1527-30, urging that internal and external enemies be overthrown, and for a procession led by the Holy Sacrament every Wednesday during Lent (Polizzotto [1994] 374-75; also 380-81). Escaped to Venice after 1530 (Varchi [1857-8] II, 236-37), where he continued a polemic against Clement VII and undertook the establishment of the first observant Dominican community on the island of S. Secundo. This was supported and funded by the authorities, and noblemen joined the ranks of his novices (Polizzotto [1994] 400, 406. For his preaching in Venice, Sanudo LVI, coll.777, 845, 846, 847; LVII, col.376; LVIII, coll.22, 246. See also Codagli [1609]; Gaeta [1958] I, 74, 104-05, 178-79).

Machiavelli, Niccolò di Bernardo (1469-1527) His comedy *Mandragola* was possibly performed during the carnival in Venice on 13/2/22, when it was interrupted by a crush of spectators, and again on 16/2/22 (Sanudo XXXII, coll.458, 466). During the carnival of 1526 it was put on again at the instance of the Florentine community. On the same evening some Venetian patricians put on a production of Plautus' *Menaechmi* in translation. Despite its excellent actors, costumes, and scenery 'it was regarded as dead' compared with *Mandragola*. When they heard of its success these asked for it to be acted in the same house where they had put on their own play, and was very well received (Ridolfi [1963]). On 19/8/1525 the *Provveditori del Levante* sent N.M.to Venice for some 'Turkish frauds' committed against certain Florentine merchants by a Venetian. He welcomed the opportunity to see and hear 'diverse generations of men'. There he discussed politics with the Papal Nuncio in Venice, the bishop Ludovico Canossa, to whom he had been sent by his friend Vettori. Ridolfi suggests that he won the lottery there. He started back on 16/9/25 (Ridolfi [1963] 217). Marco Foscari's *relazione* of his embassy to Florence of 1526-27 refers repeatedly to N.M. as his contemporary authority on Florentine history (Ventura [1976] I, 106, 130, 134).

Martelli, Ugolino A Florentine friend of Benedetto Varchi (*q.v.*), at Padua in 1540-41.

de' Medici, Cosimo (1389-1469) In September, 1433 the heads of the Medici family were exiled from Florence, under the accusation of having conspired to the detriment of the supremacy of constitutional government of the commune. In December the sentences were confirmed and extended, in some cases, to ten years. Francesco de'Medici (then 17 years) wrote to his father describing their reception by the Doge and Venetian government. C.M. is reported to have said that they were received by the Venetians 'non come confinato, ma come Ambasciatore' (Kent [1974] 16, n.51). Venetian patricians like Jacopo Donado helped them and put his house at Padua at their disposal. The family of the Doge wrote to C.M. and Venetian ambassadors interceded in favour of the Medici in Florence and with the emperor in vain. However, Florentine citizenship was conferred upon the head of the embassy, Andrea Donato who successfully urged Florence to extend C.M.'s confinement to the whole of the Veneto on 16/12/33. Mari [sic] de'Medici, a conspirator being tortured in Venice was sent back to Florence. In September, 1434, the Medici were recalled to Florence (Kent [1974]; Gelli [1882]). It is alleged that C.M. stayed at the abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore. There he had Michelozzo construct a library (demolished in the Eighteenth century) and provide manuscripts, gold decoration, pictures and the arms of the family. According to Francesco Sansovino (Sansovino [1663] 219) he wished to alter the rest of the church. The monks placed an honorary tablet in the library in praise of the *Societati Mediceae* and recording the name of Giovanni Lanfredini, manager of Medici affairs in Venice. (Sagredo [1854] 445-6). In 1437 the *Scuola dei Fiorentini* in Venice wrote to the Medici asking for funds for the building of their chapel in the Frari, reminding them of their other church-building activities (Humfrey [1993] 327 n.99; Fraser Jenkins [1970] 164-65. For the foundation document of the Florentines in the Frari: Paoletti [1893] I, 90, doc. 7). In 1443 Francesco Barbaro wrote to C.M. from Venice. Will he repay them for his stay at S. Andrea in times of difficulty, by building a chapel or decorating the church, as promised? (Fraser Jenkins [1970]).

de' Medici, Giovanni In exile in Venice at various times between 1494 and 1512. A trip to northern Europe was planned in Venice, 1499 (Hale [1993] 182).

de' Medici, Giuliano In Venice 1510-11 for the treatment of his eyes (Sanudo XI, col.519). Note his friendship with Tommaso Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini (See above, chs.3-4).

de' Medici, Ippolito In Venice 18/10-31/10/1532 on return from a papal mission in Hungary. He visited a famous Venetian courtesan (Sanudo LVII, coll.105, 108, 111-12, 173).

de' Medici, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco (1514-48) He had a good classical education and went to Venice on 3/12/26 where his exiled family had hired a house belonging to the Cappello family, near the Salviati bank. Sanudo noted on 8/1/27: 'In questa sera, sier Marco Foscari padre di domino Hironimo episcopo di Torzello, stato orator a Roma, fece uno banchetto bellisimo alla cortesana in arzenti a uno fiol fo del signor Zanin de Medici, di anni...,nominato..., et uno fiol di domino Jacomo Salviati fo cugnado di papa Leon...et alcuni altri fiorentini, li quali a li zorni passati partirono da Fiorenza per segurta di loro persone, et venute ad habitar in questa terra. Hor vi fu donne, sier Marco da Molin procurator et altri patricii. Fo soni, canti, comedie; conclusive bellissimo pasto' (Sanudo XLIII, col.616; also XLIV, col.23). Returning to Florence in 1528, he was at the meeting of the pope and the emperor at Bologna in 1529, and then travelled to Rome. Financially dependent upon Clement VII he joined the circle of Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*) and Ippolito de'Medici. He left Rome for Florence after a scandal erupted when, for obscure reasons, he damaged the Arch of Constantine. His personal animosity and ambition appear to have led him to assassinate Alessandro de'Medici on 6/1/1537. He fled first to Bologna to Silvestro Aldobrandini (*q.v.*), and then to Venice to Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*) Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*) compared this act to David slaying Goliath. Luigi Alamanni (*q.v.*) spoke of the arrival of a new Brutus who would liberate the state. Jacopo Sansovino wished to immortalize L.M. artistically, and he is supposed to have struck a medal of L.M. in classical garb, with daggers and the phrygian cap of liberty on the reverse (Gauthiez [1904] plate facing 278). His arrival in Venice was noted by the Spanish ambassador on 9/1/37. He remarked that 'Il ne me paraît pas que tous ces Seigneurs de Venise aient déplaisir de la mort dudit duc [Alessandro], ni de ce que Florence retourne à son antique liberté' (Gauthiez [1904] 260). L.M. seems to have accompanied Filippo Strozzi to Ferrara before reaching Mirandola. A few days later he left for Bologna leaving orders and money for troops to march on Florence. He returned to Mirandola where he received encouragement from his younger brother, Giuliano, and from Aldobrandini, and the French ambassadors in Venice. Forced to leave Venice in April, 1537(?), L.M. accompanied the illegitimate son of Doge Gritti to Constantinople with letters of accreditation from Jean de la Forest, the French ambassador. Lorenzo Gritti was charged with reaching a conclusion of the war with the Turks at the end of 1538 (Paruta [1595] X, 699). He returned to Paris, and then Venice, where he received the support of the Strozzi family and Venetian humanists. Either there or in France he composed his 'Apologia'. In the unpublished dialogue 'Theopisto et Ponoporto' (ca.1538-42) two Florentines at Ferrara discuss the Florentine exiles in Italy. They note L.M.'s presence at Venice together with Piero Strozzi (*q.v.*) 'con gli altri fratelli', and Bernardo Salviati, prior of Rome. They are waiting in expectation of political change in Florence as a result of French, Venetian, Ferrarese, or even Ottoman aid for the *fuorusciti* (Simoncelli [1985] 231; von Albertini [1970]). L.M. was spotted in Venice in May, 1542 by Cosimo's agent, Bernardino Duretti: '...a toute heure chez l'ambassadeur de France, avec les exilés de Naples', as well as Piero Strozzi (Gauthiez [1904] 329). 1543-4: L.M. in France. 1544-48: L.M. in Venice living with his mother in Canareggio. He was denied a safeconduct by the Ten on 25-26/5/47 (ASV Cons.X secr. 1547-48. Reg.6, f.5v), who considered him 'savio, et prudente, et siamo certi che'l non mancherà di governarsi, come li parerà espediente per la sicurtà soa'. He was assassinated by Cosimo's men who had kept a close watch on him (Gauthiez [1904]).

de' Medici, Piero Letter from Venice (1494) published by Kennedy (1960) 73-4.

Mei, Girolamo di Paolo di Ser Girolamo (27/5/1519-ca.1620) He was a member of the Florentine confraternity in Venice in 1556, and he helped Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*) to reform the confraternity's statutes as one of two *consiglieri*. See also Cherico di Barduccio di Chericino Barducci (Sagredo [1854]).

Naldino, Giovanni Letter of Pietro Bembo of 20/11/31 from Padua to G.N. 'Cancelliere del comune di Fiorenza. A Vinegia' (*Lettere* III, no.1304). Is G.N. identifiable with 'N', the author of a work on Florentine institutions for Marco Foscari ca.1527 ? (Starn [1968] raises the possibility. Corazzol [1992] dismisses the possibility).

Nardi, Jacopo (1476-1563) He frequented the *Orti Oricellari* and was a member of the Medici Academy, becoming a close friend of Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*). He seems to have been aided by Clement VII in the purge of republicans after 1530 (Starn [1968] 14), although he remained in exile at Pitigliolo between 1530-33 (Pieralli [1901] 78). Sentenced anew to exile at Livorno, he fled to Venice where he arrived 17/12/1533. He described the reception given the *fuorusciti* there thus: '...e similmente in Venezia furono veduti umanamente, come degni di molta compassione...[and] fu conceduto a' detti fuorusciti il privilegio del portar l'armi insino al numero di quarantacinque, che tanti allora se ne trovavano in Venezia, i quali, attendendo alla giornata la propinqua morte di papa Clemente...' (Nardi [1842] II, 266-67). In 1535 he was one of the exiles at Naples to address Charles V. He encouraged the Strozzi to take on the cause of liberty, and wrote a 'feverish letter' on 18/1/37 to Cardinal Ridolfi, one of the protectors of the exiles in Rome, celebrating the tyrannicide of Lorenzino de'Medici (*q.v.*) (Starn [1968] 143 n.1). By a letter of 25/12/45 from Cosimo de'Medici to Filippo Pandolfini (*q.v.*), it appears that the necessity to make some provision for J.N. had caused much dissension among the merchants of the Florentine nation there. Cosimo demanded that the merchants met and solved the problem 'di poco honore alla natione'. Pandolfini replied on 3/2/46 that the Giunti (*q.v.*) were the authors of the affair since they had called together twelve of the nation at a shop on the Rialto in order to be reimbursed for a translation of Livy by J.N., which they were in the course of printing. The merchants were therefore unwilling to make any payment on these grounds, particularly since the income of the 'Compagnia' was consumed by ordinary expenses and unavoidable commitments '...di sorte che quando occorre aiutare alcuno Fiorentino, non v'è la facultà di poterlo fare'. The Florentine merchants requested Pandolfini's help in ordering their affairs, and Pandolfini waited for Cosimo's advice (Pieralli [1901] 142-3; 143 n.1). By 1550, J.N. had been elected 'guardiano e governatore' of the nation with two counsellors Girolamo di Paolo Mei and Chirico di Barduccio Barducci. They reformed the 'capitoli' affecting the method, 'beneficio', and dignity of the nation with Cosimo's approval (Nardi [1842] I, xlviii). Francesco Sansovino wrote in 1562 that J.N. was a good friend of Francesco Guicciardini and that he was 'huomo venerando, & quasi Oracolo della Nation Fiorentina...' ('La vita di M. Fr. Guicciardini' in Guicciardini [1636]). Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*) also considered him a good friend. Benvenuto Cellini (*q.v.*) records his meeting with J.N. in Venice in 1534 or 1535 (Cellini [1956] 140-45; [1891] 163-164). During the final days of his illness he was visited by the Archbishop of Florence, Donato Giannotti, Francesco Nasi (*q.v.*), Pandolfo (Attavanti?), Benvenuto Borghini, 'prete Andrea fiorentino', Maria de'Medici, Tommaso Giunti and his wife (Salza [1897] 223-25).

Nasi, Francesco During his diplomatic mission to Bologna in 1529, Contarini reported on 25/9 that he had invited the Florentine ambassador to dinner: 'In questo stesso giorno era giunto qui D.Francesco Nasi mandato da Firenze...Io per intendere qualche particularità da questo oratore el qual già molti anni mi è amico lo invitai l'altra sera ad cenar meco et con lui ragionai gran pezzo ne possi cavar da lui particularità alcuna di momento...' (Gilbert [1967] 173 n.12). F.N. was also the dedicatee of Donato Giannotti's (*q.v.*) book on the Venetian political system.

de' Nobili, Lodovico Clement VII asked the Venetian government to imprison a 'Ludovicus de Nobilibus', together with Baldassare Carducci (*q.v.*). L.N. was to be placed 'in loco Collegii Bladorum' on 17/2/1527 (ASV Cons.X secr. Reg. 1, ff.107v-108r). He escaped imprisonment (Sanudo XLIV, coll.168-69). As a Florentine in

Venice he refused to aid Florence under siege in 1529. See also Luigi Gherardi, Filippo del Bene, and Tommaso di Giunta (Varchi [1857-8] II, 278).

Pandolfini, Filippo (1502-?) Ambassador to Venice during 1545-46. There, he was concerned with Florentines in Venice for Cosimo de'Medici (Pieralli [1901] 142). 1548: senator (Gauthiez [1904] 460 for full bibliography).

Pandolfini, Pier Filippo (1499-1534) He was perhaps a member of the *Orti Oricellari.* He was an active participant in the 1527 revolution. He opposed Capponi (Stephens [1983] 221-22). He delivered two addresses to the militia in 1529, and an *Oratio ad Clementem VII* (1524). In 1530 he fled to Venice where he was murdered by a fellow exile in a brawl. (von Albertini [1970] 125-26, & n.3, 130; Nardi [1842] II, 266).

Pazzi, Alessandro (1483-1531) Student of Francesco da Diacceto. He wrote a letter of condolence to Paolo Giustiniani on 16/10/1514 after Vincenzo Querini's death (*AC* IX, col.589). He was sent to Venice on Clement's request. Pietro Bembo wrote to him on 21/11/26 to say that he had received his letters and would offer him his house, things, and 'forze' and himself 'ché sono già buoni anni, vostro' (*Lettere* II, no.720). In other letters Bembo discusses A.P.'s 'Electra' and 'Œdipus' (*Lettere* II, nos. 741, 747). In a letter of 14/4/28 Bembo regrets A.P.'s imminent departure and asks him to remember him to Taddeo Taddei and Pierfrancesco and Giovanni Borgherini (*q.v.*) in Florence (*Lettere* II, no.868). Here, at Clement's wish, Baldassare Carducci (*q.v.*) who left Florence for Padua, was imprisoned (although not at A.P's hands) and only released in May, 1527. In 1528 Bartolommeo Gualtierotti (*q.v.*) was sent as ambassador according to Varchi: 'per levare di Vinegia Alessandro de'Pazzi, il quale scriveva non meno al papa che a Dieci' (Varchi [1857-8] I, 281). He went to Rome from Florence in 1529. He was declared a rebel, and his goods confiscated. He followed Clement to Bologna, re-entered Florence, and died suddenly (Litta [1819-94] *s.v.* Pazzi, tavola IX).

Pazzi, Paolo Letters from P.P. in Venice, 1526-27 (Gentile [1906]). P.P. was a friend of B. Segni (*q.v.*).

Perini, Piero A destitute Florentine in Venice who asked the authorities for aid on 8/8/1530 (Sanudo LIII, col.418).

Rucellai, Bernardo (1448-1514) Opponent of the Soderini regime in Florence, B.R. was in the audience for Luca Pacioli's lecture on the fifth book of Euclid which was held in Venice in August, 1508. Also present were Vincenzo Querini, Tommaso Giustiniani, Aldus Manutius, and the Florentines Matteo Cini and Giovanni Rucellai (Nardi [1971] 69-72, n.1; plates 15 & 16). In a letter from Bologna to Neri Acciaiuoli dated 12 December 1508, B.R. commented on the problem of continuity in politics when there were changes in the magistracy. He contrasted the experience of Florence unfavourably with that of Venice where the decisions of a magistrate were not changed by his successor for a long time (Christie's catalogue of the sale of the Giannalisa Feltrinelli Library on 3 December 1997, p.127).

Salviati, Piero In July, 1537, Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*), agent of Cardinal Salviati in Venice from March, 1537, was reported as urging the exiles great and small there to put aside their differences. In a letter to P.S., one of the 'fuorusciti grandi', he argued that the time had come for action. According Cosimo's informant in Venice, Giannotti wrote to P.S. : 'Piero, voi havete a saper che Firenze è come una pera matura che sta per cascare, et la quale ogni poco di cose la farebbe cadere; et sovi dir che assai di quei nostri di Firenze grandi...aspettano con gran desiderio come li Giudei il Messia...' (Starn [1968] 47 n.2).

Segni, Bernardo (1504-58) Nephew of Niccolò Capponi. In December, 1526 he went to Venice and Padua with Paolo Antonio Soderini (*q.v.*) to study. His friends at Florence were Giovan Battista Busini (*q.v.*), Ruberto Strozzi (*q.v.*), the Antinori, the Pazzi (Paolo, Giovanni, and Alessandro [*q.v.*]), the Capponi, the Soderini (*q.v.*), and Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*). All of these people were discontented with Cortona's government, or they were related to those involved in the 1522 plot. In Venice he knew Bernardo Cappello (Gentile [1906] 18, n.3). After a brief trip to Vicenza in January, 1527 B.S. left Venice at the end of March for Padua where he met Leonico. Giannotti, Giovan Battista Nasi, Paolo Benivieni, and Paolo Pazzi remained in Venice. B.S. favoured the régime of the *ottimati*, and was therefore opposed to the *arrabbiati.* He remained in Padua at least until September, 1527, probably through fear of the plague. Paolo Pazzi noted at this time that B.S. had advised him 'ad aiutar la republica col consiglio che con l'armi...' (Gentile [1906] 142). Pazzi and Giannotti in Venice obtained letters of favour for B.S. and Paolo Antonio Soderini from Gasparo Contarini and Nicolò Dolfin in May, 1527 (Gentile [1906] 141). B.S. welcomed the *coup d'état* of Capponi's nephew in 1527, and closely followed events. In 1528 he returned to Florence. His friendship with Giannotti may have arisen when they were both at the University of Pisa (1520-27) and was probably cemented by B.S.'s translations and commentaries of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Politics*. He later wrote the *Storie fiorentine...colla vita di Niccolo Capponi* (Augusta,1723) (Von Albertini [1970] *ad ind.* Letters to Segni are found in Gentile [1906]).

Soderini, Francesco 1517, F.S. and Adriano Castellesi (*q.v.*) were accused of involvement in a conspiracy of cardinals to poison Leo X. They were punished with a fine of 12,500 ducats each, and on 20/6/17 they fled to Rome. With Francis I's protection F.S. received guarantees from the King of Spain, the King of Portugal, and the Doge of Venice. F.S., in the kingdom of Naples, attempted to go to Vicenza for 18 months where he possessed an ecclesiastical office. He would have also been near the anti-Medicean court of the d'Este and Venice there, as the Mediceans realized. Doge Loredan renewed his obligation to F.S., but he returned to Florence after Leo's death. (Lowe [1993], [1994] 193-8). Benvenuto Cellini (*q.v.*) records meeting him in Rome, shortly after Alessandro de'Medici's assassination (Cellini [1956] 165; [1891] 191).

Soderini, Paolo Antonio Accompanied Bernardo Segni (*q.v.*) to Venice in December, 1526. He was still there in May, 1527 (Gentile [1906]).

Soderini, Piero di Paolantonio Implicated in the 1522 conspiracy, he was in exile in Venice by April,1523. He remained in Vicenza until his death in 1538 (Lowe [1993]).

Soderini, Tommaso di Paolantonio Implicated in the 1522 conspiracy, he was in exile in Venice by April, 1523. Pardoned 18/12/23 (Lowe [1993] 132).

Strozzi, Alessandro di Matteo (1505-68) He met Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*) at Pisa or at Padua in the 1520's. In 1537 Cosimo de'Medici sent him to Rome (Varchi [1857-8] III, 205).

Strozzi, Francesco Religious exile from Rome ca.1542 (Stella [1965]). In 1544 Edmund Harvell (the English ambassador) interceded with the Signory on behalf of F.S., who was troubled by the Inquisition after his translation of Coelius Secundus Curione's *Pasquini in estasi* . F.S. was one of many religious exiles from Rome in the 1540's, although he is perhaps identifiable with the Florentine Strozzi, possibly Francesco di Soldo Strozzi who translated into vernacular Thucydides' histories: *Gli otto libri di Tucidide delle guerre fatte tra i popoli di Morea e gli Atoniesi* (Venice, 1545) (Litta [1819-94] *s.v.* Strozzi tavola I). Interestingly Curione argued against any form of simulation and urged evangelicals in Italy to go into exile if their faith was not strong enough for it to be expressed openly (Turchetti [1987]). The problems around Nicodemism are similar to those considered by Pietro Alcyonio in facing the choice of resisting tyranny or going into exile (*DBI* 31: 444; Martin [1993] 47).

Strozzi, Filippo (1489-1538) The leader of the Florentine exiles in the years after 1530. Initially, F.S. and his sons had been on intimate terms with Alessandro de'Medici, and Filippo had assisted him in ruling Florence. He became a member of the Council of 48 (a small senate which replaced the old Medicean councils of 70 and 100), and he served as one of the Duke's four counsellors. Filippo, as the pope's friend, was an important link between Florence and Rome. Clement VII's death, and Alessandro's accusations that Filippo's sons were consorting with Florentine exiles, caused F.S. to close the palace at Rome (for his difficulties in greeting Jacopo Nardi [*q.v.*] and other friends publicly there see letter of 29/4/1535 in Bardi [1894] which also announces his imminent departure for Venice: *ibid.*, 74-78), and to send his sons to different parts of Italy. F.S. and Cardinals Salviati and Ridolfi drew closer to Alessandro's rival, Cardinal Ippolito de'Medici. However, Ippolito's death weakened the case against Alessandro presented by the exiles to Charles V at Naples. F.S. wound up his affairs in Florence and went to Venice where he received a safeconduct on 19/6/1536 (For text of the safeconduct see the otherwise hagiographical Limongelli [1963] 306-07). He was declared a rebel by Alessandro, though an anonymous report sent to the Florentine government from Venice counselled against assassinating F.S. on the grounds that he was more useful to the Medici regime alive than dead (Polizzotto [1994] 419 n.109). His presence in Venice was robustly defended to the Emperor by the Ten (ASV Cons. X secreto, reg.4, ff.58v-59v, 3/7/1536). He was largely in Venice between September, 1535 and July, 1537 while organizing the forces defeated at Montemurlo 31/7/37. He wrote on 20/1/1537: 'Lo esilio non ho mai molto stimato, anzi in ogni evento mi ero piu fa risoluto vivere in Venezia, satisfacendomi grandemente il sito, li costumi, e essendovi bene visto e carezzato' (Letter to Francesco Vettori, Niccolini [1847] 226). Lorenzino de'Medici (*q.v.*) fled to Venice in January, 1537 to see F.S. after assassinating Alessandro. After defeat and capture at Montemurlo F.S. killed himself on 18/12/38. One historian concludes that up until 1534 F.S. 'was no champion of Florentine liberties', and that his opposition was merely 'an epilogue' to the personal catastrophe of Clement VII's death (Bullard [1980] 177).

Strozzi, Giulio di Filippo Died at Padua before 1537 (Litta [1819-94] *s.v.*'Strozzi', tavola XX).

Strozzi, Leone di Filippo (1515-54) Sent to Padua to study in 1529. He served the Medici until 1533 and then joined the exiles (Litta [1819-94] *s.v.*'Strozzi', tavola XX).

Strozzi, Lorenzo di Filippo (1523-71) Ordered to Venice after 1537 (Litta [1819-94] *s.v.*'Strozzi', tavola XX).

Strozzi, Lorenzo (1482-1549) Dedicatee of Machiavelli's (*q.v.*) *Arte della guerra* and friend of Giannotti (*q.v.*). Close friend of the Borgherini and Lorenzino de'Medici (*q.v.*) and his family. In Venice in 1526. A relation of the Medici, he had nevertheless always opposed their tendency towards absolutism, and in 1526 his hostility towards Clement VII was increased by the treatment which his brother Filippo (*q.v.*) received at his hands (Gilbert [1968b] 496-7, & n.2). Pietro Bembo was asked to convey the payment of money from Francesco and Giovanni Borgherini (*q.v.*) in Rome to Lorenzo and Carlo Strozzi (*q.v.*) in Venice. Bembo noted that L.S. was at 'San Polo sul Campo' (*Lettere* II, no.863 [4/4/28]; no.855 [15/3/28] to L.S. and C.S. in Venice).

Strozzi, Matteo di Lorenzo (d.1541) Identified himself with the aristocratic opposition before 1527. After Capponi's fall he was spokesman for the moderates. From Donato Giannotti's (*q.v.*) letters, it appears that Giannotti urged him to grasp the opportunity to resist the drift of the Republic into radical hands. However, in October, 1529 he fled to Venice after refusing to serve as orator there. However, he returned and was chosen to greet Alessandro de'Medici at Prato. He later became a senator of the 48. He seems to have been among those Florentines in Venice who refused to aid Florence

during the siege (Starn [1968]; Litta [1819-94] *s.v.*'Strozzi', tavola XIX; Varchi [1857-8] II, 278).

Strozzi, Pietro di Filippo (1510-58) Sent to Padua in 1529, he returned to Florence in the following year. His father intended to send him back to Padua in 1534 to continue his education in Greek and Latin (Bardi [1894] 29). Writing from Rome on 25/5/1541 to Cardinal Ridolfi, Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*) mentions the presence of P.S. in Venice. He was one of the younger Strozzi 'beginning their reign as leaders of the anti-Medicean exiles, favorites of the court of France, and agents of French machinations in Italy' (Starn [1968] 116 n.5). He was expelled from Venice due to his close links with France following the embassy affair of June-September, 1542, together with Roberto (*q.v.*) and Lorenzo Strozzi (*q.v.*) (Tausserat-Radel, 615-16, n.2). The imperial governor of Milan wondered at Venetian tolerance of P.S. for so long (Brown [1864] V, 191). Aretino praised P.S. in a letter of 10/3/42 for his exile in defence of the liberty of his country (Rosand [1980] 126, 131, n.69). His hopes for the overthrow of Cosimo de'Medici were only finally dashed in April, 1556 with the War of Siena and the Treaty of Vaucelles (Trucchi [1847]; Coppini [1901]).

Strozzi, Ruberto (d.1566) In exile from 1535. In a letter of 24/4/1540 from Rome, Luigi del Riccio asked R.S. to send three medals of Lorenzino de'Medici (*q.v.*) from Venice to their friend messer Donato (Giannotti?). On 18/8/1543 Donato Giannotti sent Lorenzino's letters to R.S. (Starn [1968] 143 n.7). In the dialogue of Florentines in Ferrara (ca.1538-42) Ruberto di Filippo Strozzi is noted among the exiles there (Simoncelli [1985] 231). By 1554 R.S. was in correspondence with Cosimo (von Albertini [1970] 143).

Della Stufa, Giovanni Battista See Giovan Francesco della Stufa.

Della Stufa, Giovan Francesco He was among those sent thirty miles from Florence for three years on 25/11/1530 (ASF, *Otto di Guardia: Pratiche e deliberazioni* 231, *Libro di Condamne* f.11v; Varchi [1857-8] II, 408, 412. Manuscript citation provided by Henry Knox). A homonym received a safeconduct from Venice on 27/4/31 together with a brother Giovanni Battista (Sanudo, LIV col.403). In Venice in 1534, he gave Jacopo Nardi (*q.v.*) a translation of various speeches of Cicero (Pieralli [1901] 93).

Varchi, Benedetto (1503-66) He trained as a lawyer and studied Greek under Pier Vettori and Donato Giannotti (*q.v.*). He was a friend of Bartolomeo Cavalcanti (*q.v.*). In March, 1528 he met Giovanni Gaddi, a Florentine monsignor, in Venice before moving on to Viterbo and Rome. 1530-32: B.V. in Modena, Rome, and Naples. 1532-36: in Florence, where he frequented the house of Lorenzo de Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*). He was in correspondence with Pietro Bembo from 1535 (*Lettere* III, nos.1701, 1706, 1730). In September, 1536 he left for Padua. By May, 1537 he was at Rome tutoring Ruberto de Filippo Strozzi (*q.v.*). After Montemurlo he transferred to the Veneto with Ruberto and Piero Strozzi (*q.v.*). On 13/9/37 he wrote from Padua to Aretino: '[...]Di corto avrò bando con gli altri [...], il che non mi dispiace tanto, ch'io non l'abbia per molto caro per sì giusta cagione, e con tanti uomini da bene' (Quoted in Pirotti [1971] 14). He was charged with the education of Giulio (*q.v.*), Lorenzo (*q.v.*), and Alessandro Strozzi (*q.v.*). He left their house in disgrace, after a disagreement with Piero Strozzi, and went to Padua to teach. There he was joined by Carlo di Ruberto Strozzi in 1540. Other Florentine exiles around him included Ugolino Martelli (*q.v.*), Albertaccio del Bene (*q.v.*), and Lorenzo Lenzi (*q.v.*). 1541: B.V. went to Bologna. October, 1542: B.V. in Ferrara, with Carlo Strozzi. When Pisa reopened as a university B.V. answered Cosimo's call and went to teach there. He was connected with the Venetian historian Daniele Barbaro and the *Accademia degli Infiammati* at Padua.

Zeffi, Giovanfrancesco Tutor to Lorenzino (*q.v.*) and Cosimo de' Medici in Venice in 1527. Two letters of 12/6 and 7/7/27 to Ruberto Bonsi in Florence describe the

structure of Venetian government. In the first letter G.Z. explains that 'trovandomi in questa magnifica città, capo d'una republica la quale per li suoi buoni governi più centinaia di anni è stato non solo immobile ma sempre è in augmento proceduto'. He believed that knowledge about Venice might be useful for the 'riforma di una vera republica', which was going on in Florence (Gilbert [1968] 496 n.2). He is possibly identifiable with either Francesco Zeffi (d.1546), who gave lectures on Plato at the Badia in Florence ca. 1540, and who translated Polybius, or with Giovanni Francesco Zeffus: *Epistole di S.Girolamo, Dottore della Chiesa, Scritte a diverse persone...Con una regola del temporale e spiritual vivere per le monache ne' monasteri. Nuovamente trad. di latino in lingua toscana per G.F.Z., fiorentino.* (Venice, 1562). (See Cosenza [1962-7] IV, 3749, 3750).

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